Haiti in the British Imagination, 1847–1904

by

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In many ways this project began with a curiosity in what makes us supposedly different. As a white middle-class boy growing up on the borders of Toxteth, a poor migrant area of Liverpool, I was often face-to-face with 'difference'. My friend Zain Shaffi and I would go on long walks and, as we still do, talk through these questions of race, religion, class, and inequality. This thesis is another contribution to that conversation. My parents have always insisted that I be thoughtful: My dad's chief remonstrate was "Just think!" every time I did something, well, stupid. My sister and brother (Sarah and Joe), with their wonderful deviance and whit, only ever complicated my upbringing. I thank them all for their tutelage and direction, and in particular my dad for the laborious job of reading through the many drafts of this thesis. My ultimate thanks, though, must go to my wife, Laura Malaspina, who constantly reminds that there is a world outside of academia, filled with its own wonder.

Abstract

This thesis considers representations of Haiti in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. Specifically, it considers the time period between 1847 (when Faustin Soulouque assumed the Haitian presidency) and 1904 (the centenary of the founding of Haiti), a period in which the British Empire consolidated control in the Caribbean (1865) and expanded its territories in Africa (1884). While scholars have examined conceptions of Haiti in Britain in the early nineteenth century, especially in relation to abolition and emancipation, little attention has been paid to the later period. This is, in part, due to a lack of source material concerning Haiti following a reduction in debates around slavery after legal 'emancipation' in the Caribbean (1834–38). I examine the extent to which Haiti remained relevant in Victorian Britain, despite this reduction in the number of sources. I focus my analysis on five case studies, to each of which I devote a chapter: an image of Faustin Soulouque in the *Illustrated London News* (1851); the deployment of Haiti in the debate over the Morant Bay War (1865); the circulation of Spenser St John's *Hayti or the Black Republic* (1884, 1889); the relationship between St John's work and fictions on Haiti; and Haiti's absence from the Pan-African Conference (1900). Each of these case studies concerns a specific part of the British population and they do not reflect a homogenous 'Britishness', but provide insights into aspects of the British imagination. This thesis illustrates the way in which representations of Haiti (i.e., how Haiti was thought about and presented) repeats and changes across these cultural productions.

I argue that Haiti was repeatedly deployed as a warning against certain forms of imperial control but also as confirmation of civilisational justifications

for colonial expansion. Although the main focus of this thesis is the worldview of the British imperial elite (such as colonial administrators, anthropologists, and certain newspaper editorships) in relation to the 'Black Republic', it also involves an examination of 'popular' ideas about Haiti as well as considering Haiti in the Atlantic World. Moreover, I interrogate the relationship between ideas about Haiti across these different socio-historical contexts. The focus on the imperial elite is due to a lack of source material pertaining to other social groups. Such a scarcity of sources in any particular genre means that I consider sources from across genres. To enhance my critique of each type of source, I deploy, and develop, a relevant approach: Robert Darnton's notion of the communication circuit (1982), the communication network (2011), and, Edward Said's travelling theory (1984, 1991), and the theory of spectrality as developed by Jacques Derrida (1994) and Esther Peeren (2011). Although each is used in the examination of particular sources, combined these approaches allow elucidation of the way in which ideas about Haiti moved between historical contexts, and understanding of what happened to the ideas as they 'travelled'.

Examining such representations of Haiti in Victorian Britain allows for a better understanding of British imperial discourses, as well as Haiti's role within Atlantic-wide networks of imperialism. The presence of an independent so-called 'Black Republic' in the Caribbean produced anxieties in Britain over the condition of empire and colonial rule. As Britain consolidated and expanded its empire in the Caribbean and Africa respectively, Haiti was redefined as a justification for 'white rule', but also as a warning against certain forms of such rule, such as that of Haiti's ex-colonial overseer, France (see Chapter One), or an 'excess' of democracy (see Chapter Five). These multiple meanings of Haiti, and

the repeated attempt to redefine Haiti in relation to British rule over 'black' populations, highlights the ambivalence and instability within imperial discourse itself.

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Introduction

In 1843, a 'black prince and princess' arrived in Southampton from Haiti.[1] *The Times* reported that the pair styled themselves 'the Prince and Princess Louis Napoleon Christophe', the prince being the brother of the deceased King Christophe.[2] In this report, the prince was condemned as a charlatan: 'He has nothing to indicate, by his appearance or manners, either rank or station above the common run of negroes.'[3] According to *The Times*, the prince and princess lived 'in a sumptuous manner' in London, but consistently failed to pay their landlords.[4] Eventually, the prince was prosecuted 'on the charge of swindling another hotel-keeper.'[5] In court, the prince was sentenced to two months in prison, 'after repeatedly asserting he was Prince Christophe, brother to the King of Hayti.'[6] This interrogation of the supposed 'legitimacy' of Haitians to represent a nation state reoccurred in Britain throughout the Victorian period.

In this thesis, I examine ideas about Haiti in Britain between 1847 and 1904. As its nineteenth-century title, the 'Black Republic', indicates, Haiti was to some extent defined by the perceived obscurity of a place governed over by a black population.[7] Jean Jacques Dessalines had declared independence in 1804, following the expulsion of British, Spanish and French military powers, the latter of which had previously colonised and ruled over the territory, importing

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[1] [Anonymous], 'A Black Prince and Princess', *The Times*, 22 May 1843, p. 7. This referencing style is in accordance with the M. H. R. A. Style Guide.
[2] 'A Black Prince', p. 7.
[3] 'A Black Prince', p. 7.
[4] [Anonymous], 'Prince Christophe of Hayti', *The Times*, 1 November 1848, p. 6.
[5] 'Prince Christophe', p. 6.
[6] 'Prince Christophe', p. 6.
[7] The title of the 'Black Republic' appeared sporadically in press reports after the declaration of independence in 1804, but became widespread following the publication of Spenser St John's *Hayti or the Black Republic* (London: Smith, Elder, 1884).

enslaved labour and developing an extensive plantation economy.[8] One of the most significant consequences of this complicated series of conflicts was that slavery was abolished and Haiti acquired a fragile post-colonial status. As historians have documented, in the wake of the Revolution Haiti was watched closely by the enslaving powers of the West to see the consequences of emancipation.[9]

This thesis demonstrates that Haiti was not only significant in Britain due to the universal emancipation of its enslaved population, but also due to the political empowerment of a black population (and a population of mixed ethnicity). The establishment of a nation state in Haiti that was organised and administered by such a population became increasingly important in Britain as it consolidated its empire in the Caribbean and expanded it in Africa. Significantly, both of these locations were seen to be populated by peoples perceived as racially equivalent to Haitians. During the 'Scramble for Africa', for instance, the post-colonial condition of Haiti was used as evidence of the perceived 'failures' that resulted from an absence of imperialism in 'African' places (see Chapter Three and Chapter Five). The geographical proximity of Haiti to British controlled territories in the Caribbean gave it an extra relevance as Haitians could directly threaten to extend 'racial conflict' and the post-colonial condition (see Chapter Two). Haiti, however, was not only perceived as 'black' by people in

[8] For an analysis of colonial Haiti, or Saint Domingue as it was known, see John Garrigus, *Before Haiti: Race and Citizenship in French Saint-Domingue* (New York: Macmillan, 2006); John Garrigus and Laurent Dubois, eds, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789–1804: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA: St Martins, 2006).

[9] See, for instance, David Geggus, 'The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793–1798' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 1978); Julia Gaffield, *Haitian Connections in the Atlantic World: Recognition After Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), and the literature review provided below.

Britain in the Victorian period. As I illustrate in Chapter One, Haiti was considered within discussions of imperial rivalries. In particular, Haiti was instrumentalised to interpret the failure of French imperialism and, by contrast, to emphasise the superiority of the British empire.

Examining ideas about Haiti in the British imagination in the later nineteenth century, then, reveals various anxieties in relation to British imperialism. Haiti suggested the ability of the black population not only to cast off colonialism, but also to operate as a modern independent state. Analyses of the 'Black Republic' thus had powerful resonances in the British imagination. Although academics have analysed ideas about Haiti in the British imagination in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, no research has been undertaken on this later context. This thesis, then, provides an original contribution to the historiographies of the British empire, Anglo-Caribbean relations, and Haitian history.

I begin this General Introduction with a discussion of the key concepts that run throughout the thesis. This section outlines the specific historical problems that I analyse, detailing the notion of 'silence' in representations of Haiti as well as the way in which ideas about Haiti have been used in the Atlantic World. Such a discussion illustrates the importance of this research project as I further the understanding of the ways in which knowledge about Haiti offered by Haitians, as well aspects of Haitian history, were silenced in Britain throughout the Victorian period. Following on from this, I detail the methodology adopted to demonstrate how I interrogate the key questions. To some extent, the methodology has been developed in response to the scarce availability of source material on Haiti in Britain. As there are relatively few relevant sources

available, it has not been possible to concentrate on one particular genre of source in interrogating Haiti in the British imagination. I have thus selected sources from across genres. To best analyse each type of source, I deploy a relevant methodology.

The sources that I examine were primarily produced by people with an interest in the administration of empire. This was by no means a fixed group. Indeed, the question of who had the right, and the credibility, to enter into discussions of government was hotly contested throughout the Victorian period.[10] There is a consistent focus in this thesis on the ideas of people who were at least commenting on (and at times attempting to influence) the processes of imperialism. This includes the editors of relatively expensive, 'higher-end', newspapers (that targeted a bourgeois readership), colonial officials, anthropologists, and 'privileged' colonised subjects, who explicitly intervened in debates over colonial control. I also include certain authors of fiction in my analysis. Although the fictions provide different representations of Haiti to those found in the explicitly politicised discourse in other sources, the ideas about Haiti are repeated. Indeed, I illustrate the complicated relationship between political commentaries and fictions concerning ideas about Haiti. In the final section of the Introduction, I show the extent of the originality of this project by surveying the existing literature on nineteenth-century ideas about

[10] For the contest on who was perceived to have a right to intervene in debates on colonial rule see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Duncan Bell, *Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860 – 1900* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007); Edwin George West, *Education and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Batsford, 1975); Gordon Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (London: Longmans, 1978).

Haiti. While scholars have produced a body of research concerning this question in the earlier-nineteenth century, and have detailed contexts such as the United States and the Caribbean in the second half of the century, no work has been carried out on ideas about Haiti in Britain in the Victorian period (or, significantly, France in the period following abolition in 1848).[11]

The chosen time-period that I study is then, in part, a response to the scholarly need for further research into this era. The specific years that mark the beginning and end dates of this thesis have been decided by events in Haiti in recognition of the fact that ideas about Haiti were construed as part of the intertwining histories of Haiti and Britain. Indeed, the first and last chapter detail the reactions of Britons to specific, and apparently troubling, events in Haiti. Chapter One explores the ascension of Faustin Soulouque to become Emperor of Haiti in 1847, provoking extensive and fervent discussions in the British press regarding the definition of the qualities of appropriate government. The final chapter assesses the representation of Haiti at the Pan-African Conference in 1900, and analyses the reactions of the British Foreign Office to the celebrations of the centenary of independence in Haiti in 1904. The association between Haiti and anti-imperialism was in this moment particularly heightened.

The question of whether Haiti fully achieved a 'post-colonial' condition in the first century of independence has been posed by David Nicholls and by Nick Nesbitt.[12] Both argue that as it continued to be subject to foreign domination

[11] In this thesis I only analyse the French context when it is of relevance to the British context such as the exchange of ideas between the two places. See Chapter One and Chapter Three.
[12] David Nicholls, 'Postcolonial Politics: The Haitian Experience' (unpublished essay, available at the Alma Jordan Library, University of the West Indies, 1972); Nick Nesbitt, 'The Idea of 1804', *Yale French Studies*, 107 (2005), 6–38. See also Raphael Dalleo, 'Emplotting

following independence, there is a need for caution in asserting that Haiti was fully post-colonial. In a discussion of African art, Kwame Anthony Appiah argues that the post-colonial is a misleading term.[13] Appiah asserts that the 'post-coloniality' of an artefact, or phenomenon, can relate to the qualities of transcendence, the process of rallying against and moving beyond colonialism. It is a 'space-clearing gesture', rather than a complete break with the colonial past.[14] When describing Haiti's 'post-colonial' status, I am referring to an ongoing process in which Haitians attempted to assert independence that solicited responses from the Atlantic's imperial powers. The meaning of Haitian independence evolved in the Atlantic World, as it was contested in these exchanges. Haiti's post-colonial status was, I maintain, hugely significant in representations of Haiti in Britain. I thus interrogate how and why Haiti's post-colonial condition came to be of such importance in the Atlantic World in the latter half of the nineteenth century, even if it was not a total political reality.

Whereas I refer to Haiti as attaining a limited post-colonial status, it was subject to the imperial forces of the West throughout the nineteenth century. Adopting the work of Edward Said, I differentiate between the terms colonialism and imperialism: '"imperialism" means the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; "colonialism," which is almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory.'[15] Haiti was not re-colonised in the nineteenth

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Postcoloniality: Usable Pasts, Possible Futures, and the Relentless Present', *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 13, 1 (2004), 129–40.

[13] Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post in Postcolonial?', *Critical Inquiry*, 17, 2 (1991), 336–57.

[14] Appiah, p. 348.

[15] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. 9.

century. It was, though, subject to various forms of imperialism administered and practised by France, the United States, and Britain. Each of these nations had its own form of imperialism.[16] This can be perceived through a study of Haitian history and its respective relations with the powers. There were overwhelming similarities in the treatment of Haiti by imperialists across the Atlantic.[17] For instance, Haiti was consistently regarded, across the three powers, as a warning against the political empowerment of a black population. However, there were also significant differences in the meanings of Haiti in different Atlantic contexts. In Britain, Haiti was considered as an example of post-colonial failure, and in France as an example of loss. In the United States, also a post-colonial nation, Haiti was brought into debates concerning the emancipation and enfranchisement of the domestic black population. Haiti was not, then, part of any particular empire in the nineteenth century, but it was in part defined (in Britain at least) according to imperial ideologies. Placing British ideas about Haiti in an Atlantic context allows for an understanding of the way in which Haiti was understood in a particular way in Britain, relating to concerns over the condition of British imperialism. This analysis also suggests the extent to which ideas about Haiti were consistent across the Atlantic as it was enmeshed in Atlantic-wide networks of communication.

[16] Haiti also becomes increasingly subject to German imperialism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps due to the relatively late timing (compared to the focus of this thesis) of these relations, I have not found evidence of intellectual exchange concerning Haiti between Britain and Germany, and so I do not consider the German context in this thesis.

[17] For Atlantic-wide ideas about Haitian Vodou, for instance, see Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Key Concepts: Silence, the Uses of Haiti, and Empire

I argue in this thesis that Haiti posed a threat to British justifications of imperialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Much of this thesis is thus concerned with the way in which Haiti was represented in relation to anxieties about empire. In these representations, I further maintain, a process of silencing is apparent in which Haitian knowledge is denied, or ignored, in order to support the rationalisation of empire. Whereas scholars have assessed the various types of silencing that surrounded the reception of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World in its immediate aftermath and in the early nineteenth century, I explore the importance of the concept in the later-nineteenth-century British context. I contend that there is a significant difference in the types of silence apparent across the nineteenth century: statements of racial equality and nationhood offered by Haitians were rejected, ignored, and undermined across the historical context examined. In this section I examine the notion of silence and the various 'uses' of Haiti.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues in *Silencing the Past* that radical statements made in the Haitian Revolution, such as universal emancipation, were 'unthinkable' for those in the West throughout the nineteenth century.[18] Trouillot does not deny the historical importance of the Revolution, but instead critiques the way in which it was received in the Atlantic World. The Haitian Revolution was considered within a racist and imperial ideology that could not allow for an understanding of enslaved Africans attaining an equal form of freedom to those in Europe and the United States:

[18] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston.: Beacon Press, 1995), p. 73.

> the contention that enslaved Africans and their descendants could not envision freedom — let alone formulate strategies for gaining and securing such freedom — was based not so much on empirical evidence as on an ontology, an implicit organization of the world and its inhabitants… The Haitian Revolution thus entered history with the peculiar characteristic of being unthinkable even as it happened.[19]

The radical statements made during the Revolution, Trouillot suggests further, were thus 'silenced'. Trouillot does not claim that the silence was total — that the Revolution was not represented at all in the West — but that it was subject to a particular type of silencing. He explains that: 'any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to demonstrate these silences will vary accordingly.'[20] As the narrative of the Haitian Revolution in the West contained specific silences, the Revolution could not be understood on its own terms.[21]

[19] Trouillot, p. 73.
[20] Trouillot, p. 26.
[21] Nick Nesbitt supports Trouillot's thesis, arguing that 'it was not until after the political and human disasters of the last century that we have begun to move toward the idea of a universal right of all human beings to freedom.' Laurent Dubois contends in a summary of the silencing of the Revolution, that people watched the conflict as the unthinkable happened but '[t]hat did not mean, of course, that people did not try to think about it — indeed they tried very hard, often obsessively, producing a tremendous corpus of writing infused with terror, fascination, refusal, and much else.' Sybille Fischer elaborates on Trouillot's thesis through a discussion of 'disavowal' in relation to the reception of the Revolution amongst Caribbean slave-societies in the Caribbean. See Nesbitt, p. 7; Dubois, 'Dessalines Toro d'Haiti', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69, 3 (2012), 541–48 (p. 542). Sybille Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

My thesis expands on Trouillot's argument concerning silence as I examine the different types of silencing in representations of Haiti in the late nineteenth century. In the later nineteenth-century context, it was not necessarily Haitian statements concerning universal emancipation that were silenced in the British context. Haitians made a variety of claims concerning national equality on the diplomatic stage (see Chapters One, Three, and Five) as well as mobilising Haitian independence and government as evidence of racial equality (see Chapters Two, Three, and Five). I problematise the notion of silencing by historicising each example, examining the mechanics of the process. Trouillot finds that claims of universal emancipation were 'unthinkable' in the earlier nineteenth century, I demonstrate that claims made by Haitians regarding statehood and racial equality were variously rejected, ignored, and undermined in the later-nineteenth century. The ultimate result was that of silencing.

Each specific silence is revealing of the context in which it appears. For instance, in the context of the second half of the nineteenth century, as Britain consolidated centralised control over the Caribbean (after 1865) and expanded colonisation in Africa (after 1884), the existence of a government organised and effected by a black population in Haiti was rationalised in a way that denied the capability of the Haitian population to perform such government. An analysis of ideas about Haiti thereby reveals how people in Britain thought about, and dealt with, conceptual threats to empire so that imperialism was justified. The silencing of ideas about Haiti offered by Haitians was a significant process in the rationalisation of imperial control.

It was not only the Haitian voice in the second half of the nineteenth century that was silenced in representations of Haiti. Elements of Haitian history

were, to a certain extent, silenced. The Revolution did, of course, remain relevant to analyses of Haiti in the later-nineteenth century. But, rather than being recognised as an example of universal emancipation or of racial equality, the Revolution was, as I illustrate in each of the case studies, a usable past. The uses of the Revolution changed according to the historical situation. For instance, Chapter One examines representations of the Revolution as a means of understanding the perceived failures of French imperialism. In contrast, in Chapter Two, I make clear that the Revolution was instrumentalised to interpret conflicts involving people of African descent in the Caribbean. This, in turn, helped people in Britain to form opinion on the Morant Bay War (Jamaica, 1865). Notions of racial equality, suggested by Haitian independence, and promoted by Haitians, were evacuated from ideas about Haiti in the later nineteenth century. This lack of recognition of a viable Haitian government, or a progressive Haitian past, allowed for the 'othering' of Haitians as well as the justification of frequent British military aggression towards Haiti. Moreover, as the British empire expanded, Haitian history was interpreted as part of the rationalisation of the subjugation of people of African descent, people that were often perceived as racially equivalent to Haitians.

Through a process of silencing notions of racial equality, and challenging aspects of Haitian history, Haiti became 'useful' for British imperial ideologies. In *The Uses of Haiti*, Paul Farmer documents the ways in which Haiti has been intentionally deployed to make certain assertions in Western discourse.[22] Farmer contends that, in the course of 500 years of history, Haiti has had many

[22] Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Maine: Common Courage Press, 1994).

uses. Initially, Farmer explains, Haiti was used for its plantations; following 1804, 'as the fruits of independence rotted on the vine, Haiti became a cautionary tale of great relevance to all colonial holdings in the New World.'[23] Haiti became for the imperial officialdom what Farmer describes as 'the nightmare republic', as its use shifted from the material to the metaphorical.[24] The analysis of representations of Haiti undertaken in this thesis complicates Farmer's argument by examining the process through which Haiti was made useful following acts of silencing. I document not only how Haiti was used in Britain to understand questions of imperial rule but also the relationship between these use and justifications of imperialism.[25]

Such ideas about Haiti were construed in complex relation to events in Haiti. Franck Degoul argues that Hollywood's portrayal of the Haitian zombie in the early twentieth century provides one example of the way in which ideas about Haiti have been created in an 'exogenous' manner.[26] Degoul explains his application of the term exogenous to zombification as meaning 'a description coming from outside the sociocultural Haitian context.'[27] This is not to say that zombification was entirely construed in Hollywood, more that

[23] Farmer, p. 228.
[24] Farmer, p. 226.
[25] Millery Polyné further interrogates the changing uses of Haiti by examining its meaning across genres at any one particular historical moment. See *The Idea of Haiti: Rethinking Crisis and Development* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), p. xi.
[26] Franck Degoul, '"We are the mirror of your fears:" Haitian Identity and Zombification', in *Better Off Dead: The Evolution of the Zombie as Post-Human*, ed. by Deborah Christie and Sarah Juliet Lauro (Bronx: Fordham University Press, 2011), pp. 24–38.
[27] Degoul, p. 24.

> [t]he American imagination appropriates… a theme that issued from the Haitian imagination, racializes and eroticizes it, all the while associating it in quasi-symbolic fashion with the Haitian situation, Negro Haitianess more broadly, as marked by witchcraft.[28]

Degoul's work is instructive as it details the complex way in which ideas about Haiti were both related to that place but also divorced and developed apart from the Haitian context. It is this development of ideas about Haiti outside of the Haitian context that I critique in this thesis. Discussing Haiti in the British context, I argue, facilitated the silencing of Haitian knowledge so that ideas about Haiti could be instrumentalised (or 'used', to borrow Farmer's term) in the rationalisation of imperialism.

Although Haiti was not colonised between 1804 and its occupation by the United States in 1915, it was discussed within imperial ideologies. Within imperial discourses, the imperial 'other' has consistently been portrayed as inferior in a move that necessarily renders the Occident as superior. As Edward Said argue, 'The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different;" thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal."' [29] Such a representation of the Orient as 'other' was, Said further explains, always a way of justifying imperial expansion.[30] Othering means that colonised sites, and places

[28] Degoul, p. 27.
[29] Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage, 1978), p. 40. For later assessments of the impact of empire on British culture, see John Mackenzie *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Imperialism, 1875–1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).
[30] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 60.

seen as fit for colonialism, become passive spaces that the Occident can enter into, implanting its supposedly superior culture.

As a threat to the imperial order, Haiti could potentially menace the notion of Western superiority as it provided an example of a post-colonial state controlled by people of African descent. In this sense, Haiti was not subject to the domination of the Western imperial powers. This was significant as imperialism relied on an ideology of domination as Purnima Bose, who is heavily influenced by Said, maintains: 'domination informs the entire structural operation of colonialism, including its ideological justifications.'[31] I argue in this thesis that representations of Haiti not only contained processes of denigration and othering, but that such representations also contained a recognition, in the form of an anxiety, regarding Haiti's post-colonial and anti-imperial condition. Haiti offered an example of the inability of empire to control those perceived as other, suggesting a limitation of the very 'superiority' that justified empire. The discussion of Haiti in colonial decision-making complicated the process of 'othering' as Haitian independence, and resistance to imperialism, could suggest a lack of passivity amongst those considered appropriate for colonisation. Analysing ideas about Haiti illustrates how the colonised (and the 'should-be' colonised) affected imperial discourse and related attempts at 'othering'.[32]

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[31] Purnima Bose, *Organizing Empire: Individualism, Collective Agency, and India* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 8.

[32] The notion that the 'other' has informed the culture of imperial metropoles, rather than just being constructed by it, is emphasised by Homi Bhabha. Each representation of the 'other', for Bhabha, contains multiple significances, rather than solely suggesting their domination. In his later work, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said responds to the implicit critique of *Orientalism* by Bhabha by emphasising the fractured nature of culture: 'Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more 'foreign' elements, alterities, differences, then they consciously exclude.' See, Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 18. Emphasis in original; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 15.

The notion that the actions of imperial subjects affected ideas in the British metropole has been developed further by Catherine Hall and Christer Petley.[33] In *Civilising Subjects*, Hall contends that '[i]t is not possible to make sense of empire theoretically or empirically through a binary lens: we need the dislocation of that binary and more elaborate, cross-cutting ways of thinking.'[34] To substantiate this argument, Hall shows that colonial sites, such as Jamaica, have been central to constructions of Britishness. Petley, in an examination of Hall's work, argues that historians are increasingly conceiving of empire in terms of interconnected analytical fields, leading to 'a sort of Caribbeanization of British history… the very idea of what it meant to be a civilized British subject was contingent on an awareness of a wider world of colonial sites like Jamaica.'[35]

By examining representations of Haiti, this thesis further complicates the perceived dichotomy between metropole and colony. It was not only the British Caribbean, or indeed the British empire, that informed notions of Britain as an imperial metropole. Whereas Haiti was not colonised for the large part of the nineteenth century, it was significant to the British empire as a place that had acquired a post-colonial status. The British metropole may have been considered superior to its colonies, but it was also defined against the perceived failures of post-colonial sites, like Haiti. The 'Black Republic', to use the nineteenth-century term, as this thesis finds, provided several points of contrast against which British people measured themselves: Haiti offered an example of the 'failure' of

[33] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Oxford: Polity, 2002).
[34] Hall, p. 16.
[35] Christer Petley 'New Perspectives on Slavery and Emancipation in the British Caribbean', *The Historical Journal*, 54, 3 (2011), 885–80 (p. 859).

France to govern its colonies, as well as the perceived fiasco of 'black government.' The 'Caribbeanisation' of British history, then, should consider the Caribbean in its broader definition rather than only examining the colonies of the metropole.

The intertwined histories of sites across the Atlantic (and indeed the globe), despite such apparent borders as those of empire and nation, is argued for by Tony Ballantyne in *Bodies in Contact*.[36] Ballantyne contends that

> [i]t is no longer possible to uncritically think in terms of 'the West,' 'Asia,' 'Europe,' or 'the Third World' — not only because each of those categories tends to homogenize the geographical region it evokes, but equally because all of those places have been interdependent from the fourteenth century onwards if not before.[37]

The myth of separation, Ballantyne goes on to suggest was born out of exchange between places within webs of communication: 'The web's intricate strands carried with them and helped to create hierarchies of race, class, religion, and gender, among others, thereby casting the conquerors as superior and the conquered as subordinate.'[38]

Haiti was not, I argue, an isolated, provincial, part of the Caribbean, but enmeshed in an Atlantic-wide web of communication. Ideas about Haiti,

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[36] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: Bodies, Empires and World Histories', in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1–17.
[37] Ballantyne and Burton, pp. 1–2.
[38] Ballantyne and Burton, p. 3.

including the notion that Haiti was isolationist, were developed in (and against) a context of people, ideas, images, and texts moving through Haiti and around the Atlantic. But this does not mean that Haitian agency was apparent in representations of Haiti. Examining ideas about Haiti in the British context reveals that although Haiti could threaten pre-established notions of British exceptionalism, it was ultimately interpreted in a way that strengthened this belief.[39] Despite providing potential threats to imperial ideology, ideas about Haiti often helped to inform the notion of what it meant to be British, and to be part of the British empire.

As I discuss in the following section, the methodologies that I adopt in this thesis enable me to illustrate the networks and circuits through which ideas about Haiti moved. Establishing these networks, and movements, allows me to track the changing significance of ideas about Haiti, and the relationship between them, as they appear in varying contexts and were received by different audiences.

Methodology

In this thesis I examine sources from across genres to reveal the multiplicity of ideas and their significance.[40] I interrogate each source in which Haiti is discussed as a representation of Haiti. In a commentary on the methodology of critiquing representations, Christopher Prendergast argues that '[t]he principal

[39] On the Victorian belief in British exceptionalism in relation to empire see Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*.

[40] Natalie Zemon Davis argues that such an approach is necessary to understand fully debates that are apparent across genres. See *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. viii.

set of claims concerns a relation between representation and *power*, if it is through representations that we speak, if it is representations that speak to us… what can we do with and about that fact.'[41] Prendergast then explains that the representation must be understood in its historical context to work through not only its meaning (both intended and received) but also its historical significance, the power of its meaning at any particular time. In doing so, the representation is revealed as powerful in itself: 'representation is not simply a passive reflection of ways of looking at the world but itself an active force in the social construction of reality.'[42] I locate representations of Haiti in their historical context to decipher how they were constructed, intended to be read, and then received. This enables an assessment of the power of the representation, and the idea about Haiti, as well as who controls it. Considering representations as significant for historical worldviews allows me to perceive the power and relevance of Haiti in the British imagination. In order to historicise these representations, I pay particular attention to the way in which the ideas about Haiti (as found in each representation) changed as they moved between contexts.

To investigate the circulation of ideas about Haiti, I engage with, and then develop, Robert Darnton's notions of the 'communication circuit' and the 'communication network'. The former relates primarily to the movement of ideas through the circulation of texts. Robert Darnton describes the communication circuit as the 'life cycle' of the book

[41] Christopher Prendergast, *The Triangle of Representation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 9.
[42] Prendergast, p. 12.

> that runs from the author to the publisher… the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves.[43]

As the ideas contained within the book pass through this circuit, they are interpreted and reinterpreted. Darnton explains further that the circuit 'transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printed characters and back to thought again.'[44] The notion of the communication network represents Darnton's development of the original concept of the communication circuit, but with reference to the verbal transmission of ideas through 'the network of friends'.[45] In the case of this thesis, this network involved 'scientists', newspaper editors, travellers, and colonial officials.

I contribute to an understanding of how knowledge was passed through such circuits and networks as I apply these notions to the context of imperial Britain. In reference to Haiti these networks and circuits did not involve the simple transmission of ideas between groups. The transference was highly

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[43] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111, 3 (1982), 65–83 (p. 67).
[44] Darnton, 'History of Books?', p. 67. For a discussion of the importance of publishers in the construction of travel narratives see Charles Withers and Innes Keighren, 'Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, c.1815–c.1857', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24, 6 (2011), 560–73; for an assessment of audiences of the travel narrative, see Innes Keighren, 'Geographies of the Book: Review and Prospect', *Geography Compass*, 7, 11 (2013), 745–58. For deployments of the communication circuit by scholars to examine twenty-first-century contexts, see Padmini Murray and Claire Squire, 'The Digital Publishing Communications Circuit', *Book 2.0*, 3, 1 (2013), 3–23; John Feather, *A History of British Publishing* (London: Routledge, 1988).
[45] Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 24.

politicised as the meaning of Haiti was often regulated by figures in British society with the correct 'authority', such as the respectable press, anthropologists and diplomats. In an examination of travel writing, and its reception, James Clifford argues that the traveller regulates the 'outside' (the place being described) for those on the 'inside' (the text's audience).[46] The traveller can manipulate the information about a place that is passed onto their readers, defining that place for the readership. As well as examining how information about Haiti was produced by travellers, I research how 'experts' (such as anthropologists and certain newspaper editorships) interpreted information that came into Britain for the purposes of empire. I thus consider the power relations in the production and consumption (and then further production) of ideas about Haiti. A significant absence in these networks was that of Haitians. Although Haitians made forceful claims to produce knowledge on Haiti, they were ignored, or denied, in these networks. An examination of these networks reveals that knowledge about Haiti in Britain was created by certain 'experts' whereas Haitians, and Haitian history, were silenced in these networks. Moreover, such an investigation of these networks illuminates the specific ways in which Haitian knowledge was treated in Britain and how ideas about Haiti relied on the knowledge of 'experts' rather than Haitians.

As ideas about Haiti moved between contexts, the power of their significance could weaken or strengthen. In his 1983 essay on travelling theory, Edward Said writes that, 'like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel — from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to

[46] James Clifford, 'Travelling Cultures', in *Cultural Studies*, ed. by Lawrence Grossberg et al (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 96–116 (p. 107).

another.'[47] Said suggests further that this process involves four stages: [i] departure from a point of origin, [ii] passage through different contexts, [iii] transplantation into a new context, and [iv] re-emergence of the initial idea, transformed by its displacement and new uses. In such travelling, Said argues, the power of the idea weakens — or is 'diluted', to use Charles Forsdick's term — as it is divorced from the original historical and political context in which it was conceived.[48] Yet, on revisiting the question a decade later in an article entitled 'Travelling Theory Reconsidered', Said finds that an idea can in fact strengthen depending on the context to which it travels.[49]

I track the strengthening and weakening of ideas about Haiti as they travelled between contexts. The travelling that I examine differs to that described by Said as the means through which these ideas moved, I illustrate, was dependent on various networks of people involved in knowledge production about Haiti such as anthropologists, journalists, and colonial administrators. The travelling of ideas about Haiti was aided by the communication networks and circuits through which ideas could be passed on. As they appeared in new contexts, whether having arrived there through textual or verbal communication, ideas about Haiti not only strengthened and weakened but the quality of their significance also changed. For instance, as Haiti was deployed in

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[47] Edward Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic*, 2nd edn (London: Vintage, 1991), p. 226. For further discussions on the concept of travel, see Clifford, 'Travelling Cultures'; Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

[48] Said, *The World,* p. 226. For Charles Forsdick's discussion of travelling theory see 'Travelling Concepts: Postcolonial Approaches to Exoticism', *Paragraph*, 24, 3 (2001), 12–29.

[49] Edward Said, 'Travelling Theory Reconsidered', in *Critical Reconstructions*, ed. by Robert Polhemus and Roger Henkle (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 251–65. A similar argument, that I develop in Chapter Four, is put forward by Salman Rushdie who claims that meaning is not only lost in translation, but can also be gained. Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays, 1981–1991* (Cambridge: Granta, 1991).

the debate that followed the Morant Bay War (1865), it gained a powerful relevance that specifically warned against politically empowering the black population. Although ideas about Haiti evolved, it was consistently described as a threat to the British empire as it provided an example of the failure of imperial control. I find that there is, then, a tension between the difference and consistency between conceptions of Haiti in each context. Robert Young argues for a similar dynamic in relation to fluctuating notions of hybridity, arguing that '[t]here is no single, or correct, concept of hybridity: it changes as it repeats, but also repeats as it changes.'[50] I examine the exact way in which Haiti evolved in the British imagination as it was both repeated, and changed between historical situations.

In analysing the production and circulation of knowledge about Haiti, I analyse not only what was thought about Haiti but also how this image was constructed. In this respect, this thesis is broadly concerned with the history of ideas. Robert Darnton argues in a study of peasant mentality in eighteenth-century France that it is 'not merely what people thought but how they thought — how they construed the world, invested it with meaning, and infused it with emotion.'[51] At times the significances of Haiti stood in contradiction to one another. By opening up these differences, and by also working through their

[50] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 27.

[51] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984), p. 3. Darnton received critique for this argument from Roger Chartier who argues that as we cannot necessarily understand the broader 'worldview' of a certain time, but only the text that reports it, there is a need for nuance in Darnton's work. Darnton replied to this by claiming that any cultural symbol goes beyond the signifier (author) and signified (object). See Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Symbols, and Frenchness', *The Journal of Modern History*, 57, 4 (1985), 682–95; Robert Darnton, 'The Symbolic Element in History', *The Journal of Modern History*, 58, 1 (1986), 218–34.

similarities, it is possible to ascertain the constraints within which this particular worldview operated. As Darnton comments, '[a]ll of us, French and "Anglo-Saxons," pedants as well as peasants, operate within cultural constraints, just as we all share conventions of speech.'[52] Tracking the various reactions to Haiti, then, reveals something about the mind-set of the British imperialist: Haiti may have presented a threat to notions of imperialist supremacy, but such a threat was at times met with strategies of denial, and at others simply ignored.

As Haiti 'travelled' to be deployed in various discussions regarding empire, it increasingly became an example of the need to centralise, consolidate, and expand imperial rule. The threat of a 'second Hayti' conjured up images of endless revolution, civilisational regression and the supposed failure of black government. An exertion of a perceivably progressive, enlightened, imperial force was seen as necessary to counter this threat. Haiti was thus read as evidence of the potential condition of black populations across the Atlantic should they achieve a post-colonial state. This association of Haiti with an anti-imperialism could itself result in a certain process of silencing. In Chapter Five I analyse the lack of discussion of Haiti at the Pan-African Conference that took place in London in 1900. At this convention, delegates proposed a form of colonial administration to the British government that was reformist and allowed for the participation of the black population. They did not challenge the rationale or practice of empire. Despite being powerfully relevant to the theme of the conference, not least for providing an example of black people in government, Haiti went undiscussed at the conference, due to a prevalent

[52] Darnton, *Cat Massacre*, p. 6.

association (within the British government and press) of Haiti with anti-imperialism.

The silencing of Haiti at the conference involved, then, a radically different process to other examples of silencing analysed in this thesis. I term such relevance and yet absence as Haiti's 'spectrality'. Within the historiography of hauntology, or spectrality, the concept has various definitions.[53] Despite this variation, what has been a dual concern for theorists is the notion that the spectre represents either a revenant, reflecting the return of something from the past, or something having a less than full presence.[54] For instance, for Derrida, the aspect of return is the spectre's defining feature: 'A question of repetition: the spectre is always a *revenant*.'[55] For Esther Peeren, who analyses the concept in relation to migrant populations, the notion of the spectre suggests a certain type of marginality:

[53] For instance, further to the literature discussed here, Judith Richardson has examined places that are considered haunted by their inhabitants in order to assess the relationship between space and popular memory. Avery Gordon has used hauntology in an analysis of the legacies of abusive systems of power, such as slavery. See Judith Richardson, *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). Colin Davis, gives an overview of the varying uses of hauntology in 'Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms', *French Studies*, 59, 3 (2005), 373–79. For a discussion of the spectre of the Haitian Revolution, in the sense of the preservation of the memory, rather than the unspeakable (as I conceive of it) see Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, 'The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reaction to the Haitian Revolution', in *The World of the Haitian Revolution* ed. by David Geggus and Norman Fiering (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 2009), pp. 317–38.

[54] Colin Davis, 'Hauntology, Spectres and Phantoms', *French Studies*, 59, 3 (2005), 373–79 (p. 377). For a discussion of the spectre of the Haitian Revolution, in the sense of the preservation of the memory, rather than the unspeakable (as I conceive of it) see Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, 'The Specter of Saint-Domingue: American and French Reaction to the Haitian Revolution', in *The World of the Haitian Revolution* ed. by David Geggus and Norman Fiering (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 2009), pp. 317–38.

[55] Jacques Derrida *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 11.

> Generally, the ghostly can be said to refer to that which is present yet insubstantial (the spirit rather than the body), secondary rather than primary (a faint copy, a trace, a ghost-writer), and potentially unreal or deceptive (a spurious radar signal).[56]

In Peeren's scholarship, the ghost is deployed as a means through which to understand the way that marginal populations 'haunt the everyday, living on the edge of visibility and inspiring a curious mix of fear and indifference.'[57]

It is these two defining characteristics — of return and marginality, or half presence — that I perceive as constituting Haiti's spectral position at the conference. In the British context, particularly amongst the British government and in the British press, Haiti was perceived to threaten a repetition of the violent ascendancy of people of African descent (perceived through the Haitian Revolution) and suggest an *ongoing* process of decolonisation and 'black' statehood. These prevailing views meant that Haiti could not be discussed at the conference without suggesting seditious themes. Both the promise of a return of Haitian history (the revenant) and Haiti in its late nineteenth century form, were marginalised at the conference. This meant that other significances of Haiti that were relevant for the conference, such as the example of people of African descent acting in government, also went unexamined.

The absence of Haiti at the conference does not suggest its perceived irrelevance to Pan Africanism but the power of ideas about Haiti that already

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[56] Esther Peeren, 'Introduction', in *Popular Ghosts: The Haunted Spaces of Everyday Culture*, ed. by Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (New York: Continuum, 2010), p. x.
[57] Peeren, p. xiv.

existed in the British imagination. This spectrality can be considered a type of silence but one that is drastically different to the silencing of Haitian voices, or Haitian history, that I examine in the production of knowledge about Haiti. In the case of the conference, colonised subjects did not reject the importance of Haitian history and its implications for imperialism, but they could not enter into open dialogue with such ideas without the risk of being accused of threatening empire. Through an exploration of this case study it is apparent that, as ideas about Haiti travelled to this context at the beginning of the twentieth century, their significance had consolidated to suggest a powerful anti-imperialism in the British context.

I use the term British, rather than English, because the sources that I consult were not solely produced by people of 'English' descent.[58] More importantly, these sources, such as newspapers of the London press, anthropological journals, or travel narratives, and novels, circulated around England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. As British peoples then travelled across empire and beyond, so did these sources and the ideas contained within them. For instance, one traveller noted the use of the *Illustrated London News* as decoration in Vodou 'temples' in Haiti.[59] The origins of national consciousness came with an expanding print culture.[60] For Benedict Anderson, a people became unified as they read the same material, encountering the same cultural subjects and absorbed the same information. They formed what Anderson terms an 'imagined community': 'It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest

[58] Thomas Carlyle, whose writing I examine in Chapter One, for instance, was Scottish.
[59] Spenser St John, *Hayti or the Black Republic*, 1st edn (London: Smith, Elder, 1884), p. 208.
[60] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 41.

nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.'[61] As the texts and images that I analyse in this thesis moved across England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, creating a so-called 'communion', I use the term British. The evidence of this movement of ideas is presented in various ways: from the membership data of clubs such as the Anthropological Society of London to the reprinting of articles in the local presses across the British Isles.

Linda Colley maintains that by 1837 (ten years before the beginning of the period that I examine), Britain had developed a strong sense of cohesiveness.[62] This is not to argue that the sources considered in this thesis were read by, and informed the imaginations of, everybody in Victorian Britain or did so equally in the same way. As I outline above, I am limited by my source base so that I am not claiming to analyse the entire British 'imagination', but instead focus on those people that attempted to influence British imperial policy. This group overwhelmingly consisted of the British middle- and upper-classes. Marsh emphasises the importance of recognising the limited reading publics of any particular source in a bid to provide an accurate and nuanced analysis: 'To analyse textual sources is to concentrate on the small minority which constituted the French reading public in this period.'[63] The national context and period that I investigate are different to the one discussed by Marsh. Nineteenth-century

[61] Anderson, p. 15.
[62] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd edn (London: Pimlico, 2003).
[63] Kate Marsh, *India in the French Imagination: Peripheral Voices, 1754–1815* (London: Routledge, 2009),, p. 3. A similar argument is put forward by Srividhya Swaminathan and Adam Beach, who seek to understand an aspect of the British imagination, rather than its totality, through examining ideas about slavery. See Srividhya Swaminathan and Adam Beach, *Invoking Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century Imagination* (Dorset: Ashgate, 2013).

Britain may have had a larger reading public to that of eighteenth-century France, not least due to technological advances such as the steam press, but the texts that I consider had particular audiences. My analysis focuses on those that wrote, read and were believed to have known most about Haiti. This group of people were pivotal in disseminating ideas about Haiti. As I demonstrate, diplomats and travellers regulated the quality of representations of Haiti. The sources studied here are thus highly significant in forming ideas about Haiti in the British imagination, but they do not reflect the totality of ideas about Haiti.[64]

As Hall and Petley argue above, the empire was central to notions of British superiority. As a post-colonial site, Haiti also informed the British imagination as a figure of comparison to notions of Britishness. Such contrast is highlighted by Said, who argues that

> often the sense in which someone feels himself to be not-foreign is based on a very unrigorous idea of what is 'out there,' beyond one's own territory. All kinds of suppositions, associations, and fictions appear to crowd the unfamiliar space outside one's own.[65]

Through its role in imperial discourse, Haiti became part of the 'imagined geography' of empire. Narratives in which it served to provide an understanding of British exceptionalism situated Haiti on the map of empire. Such a geography

[64] Graham Harrison, takes a similar approach in *The African Presence*, arguing in relation to British charity work on behalf of Africa that 'Africa campaigning has mainly (but never exclusively) been a "conversation" about the moral nature of Britishness.' See *The African Presence: Representations of Africa in the Construction of Britishness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 1.
[65] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 54.

does not relate so much to the physical positioning of a place in relation to others as the way in which places are interpreted. As Felix Driver contends,

> The process of exploration, for example, did not merely overcome distance; it created 'imaginative geographies.' The explorers 'conquered' truth… not because they exposed the inner secrets of the regions in which they travelled, but rather because they established particular ways of reading these landscapes.[66]

Haiti was not part of the British empire but it was seen to be 'out there'. It was not conquered in the literal sense but it was narrated as a space through which empire could be understood. The position of Haiti was imagined in various ways in relation to empire: it presented a threat of racial antagonism (Chapter Two); an example of the decadent fate of the post-colonial condition (Chapter Three); a space in which imperial heroes could demonstrate their superiority (Chapter Four); and as a radical instance of anti-colonial violence (Chapter Five). Little was known about Haiti other than its position in relation to empire.

The sources that I analyse in tracking the movement of ideas about Haiti have been selected according to their availability. My research supports the assertion made by David Geggus that there is a significant drop in source material relating to Haiti in the British imagination after legal emancipation in

[66] Felix Driver, 'Geography's Empire: Histories of Geographical Knowledge', *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 10 (1992), 23–40 (p. 31).

the Caribbean (1834–38).[67] The limited number of sources means that I analyse texts from across genres. Although selecting sources from across genres potentially causes problems, as each type of source requires a different of interpretation, an inter-generic approach (that of analysing sources from different genres) also generates certain insights. In relation to ideas about India in the French imagination, for instance, Kate Marsh asserts that '[t]he transportation of key images from travellers' narratives into the realm of fiction exposes intellectual assumptions about India, emphasising the inherently textual nature of the construct.'[68] Adopted in this thesis, such an approach allows for an understanding of underlying assumptions about Haiti in the British imagination.[69]

As people in Britain did not simply read one genre of text concerning Haiti, it is necessary to analyse varying texts, and the relationship between them to gain an insight into their mentalities.[70] This is not to argue that I analyse every type of source concerning Haiti in this period. I could, for instance, have provided a more sustained analysis of British missionary writing regarding Haiti.[71] There is a book-length work by the missionary Mark Bird that, despite being cited by

[67] David Geggus, 'Haiti and the Abolitionists: Opinion, Propaganda and International Politics in Britain and France, 1804–1838', in *Abolition and its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790–1916*, ed. by David Richardson (London: Frank Cass, 1985), pp. 114–40.
[68] Marsh, p. 23.
[69] This approach is also taken by John Mackenzie and Edward Said in their respective analyses of the imperial imagination. See Mackenzie, *Propaganda,* and Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 39–40.
[70] The text is, of course, only a partial reflection and it does not provide a comprehensive view of such a mentality.
[71] Mimi Sheller, for instance, puts this source-set to good effect in her comparative study on Haiti and Jamaica. See Mimi Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery: Black Republics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

scholars such as David Nicholls, has been relatively understudied.[72] This neglect is in part due to the limited readership of such writing in relation to Haiti.[73] Additionally, these particular texts do not seem to have been discussed in processes of governmental decision making, as were the travel narratives that I do consult. An analysis of popular ideas about Haiti is not fully developed either within the chapters or within the thesis itself as I have not been able to find sufficient source material on which to base this. Instead, I provide a fragmented discussion of such ideas (see Chapter Two, Chapter Three, and Chapter Four). Conditioned by the availability of the source material, this thesis is, then, largely concerned with the role of Haiti in relation to discussions over imperial rule, and the mentalities of those who partook in these conversations. In researching this matter, as I demonstrate in the literature review below, this thesis offers an original contribution to the historiography on the histories of Haiti, the Atlantic, and British imperialism.

Historiographical overview: Ideas About Haiti in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Atlantic World

The originality of this thesis, and its contribution to existing scholarship, is made apparent through an examination of the historiography of ideas about Haiti in Britain and the Atlantic World. Such a study illustrates that the topic of ideas about Haiti in Britain after legal emancipation has not been studied by scholars,

[72] Mark Bird, *The Republic of Hayti and its Struggles* (London: Elliot Stock, 1869); David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[73] I was not able to find any reviews of Mark Bird's work in a search of the '19th Century British Library Newspapers' database, or in *The Times* database.

with all the current literature focussing on the early nineteenth century. In the context of the Atlantic World, in the second half of the nineteenth century, ideas about Haiti have been interrogated in relation to the context of the Caribbean and the United States, but not in regard to Britain. Ideas about Haiti in France have also been largely neglected.[74]

The Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) was an originary moment in generating ideas about Haiti.[75] Haiti was derided throughout the nineteenth century, following its Revolution and ensuing, fragile, independence from colonial powers. As Carolyn Fick, John Thornton, Laurent Dubois, and others, have highlighted, the Haitian Revolution was a complicated process that involved a great many social actors and groups, each with a respective social or political ambition.[76] In his PhD thesis and subsequent publications, David Geggus is one of the few who has documented the reception of this Revolution as it unfolded in the British context.[77] Geggus asserts that the Revolution was of significance for

[74] Marlene Daut does not examine the French imagination explicitly, but her research does consider French representations of Haiti. See *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

[75] Haiti was, of course, not known in the West by this name until independence in 1804, making the Revolution originary in generating ideas about 'Haiti'. But it was also originary in the sense that it became a site associated with revolution against enslavement, colonialism, and imperialism. See David Geggus, 'The Naming of Haiti', *New West Indian Guide*, 71, 1 (1997), 43–68.

[76] See Carolyn Fick, *The Making of Haiti*: *the Saint Domingue Revolution* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Carolyn Fick, 'Dilemmas of Emancipation: From the Saint Domingue Insurrections of 1791 to the Emerging Haitian State', *History Workshop Journal*, 46 (1998), 1–15; Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); John Thornton, '"I Am the Subject of the King of Congo:" African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution', *Journal of World History*, 4, 2 (1993), 181–214.

[77] Geggus, 'The British Occupation'; David Geggus, 'The Cost of Pitt's Caribbean Campaigns, 1793–1798', *The Historical Journal*, 26, 3 (1983), 699–706; David Geggus, 'The British Government and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt, 1791–1793', *The English Historical Review*, 96, 379 (1981), 285–305; David Geggus, 'Slavery, War, and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean, 1789–1815', in *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater*

British observers due to the acts of abolition (1795 and 1800), and the importance of Saint Domingue to its major rival France, as well as the high numbers of European troops that took part in the conflict. In particular, the invasion of Haiti by Britain, Geggus asserts, was a disaster from the British perspective. Death rates per regiment averaged at fifty to seventy per cent.[78] Total British losses numbered some 14,405.[79] Geggus concludes that despite these losses being widely reported in both parliament and the British press,

> [n]o regimental banner bears the words 'St Domingo.' No minister or general wished to preserve in his memoirs the history of the occupation. It was an episode best forgotten and which the 19th century had no need to remember.[80]

The research that Geggus deploys to support this conclusion largely concerns the early nineteenth century. No scholar has yet studied the way in which this event was thought about in the later nineteenth century. This thesis expands on the research of Geggus by examining the late nineteenth century. I find in this later context that the invasion of Haiti was not remembered as a British failure, nor was the significant loss of life recognised. In the sparse accounts of the Revolution in which Britain's involvement was recognised, the Revolution is presented as a 'success' for Britain, to the detriment of Haiti and France (see

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Caribbean, ed. by David Geggus and David Gaspar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), pp. 1–50.

[78] Geggus, 'British Occupation', p. 339.

[79] Geggus, 'Pitt's Caribbean Campaigns', p. 703.

[80] Geggus, 'British Occupation', p. 362.

Chapter Three). In keeping with Geggus's conclusion, the failure of British militarism is forgotten but there are, I find, discussions of the event.

A substantial amount of research has been done on the way in which Haiti (as opposed to Britain's invasion of Haiti) was represented in Britain between the end of the Revolution in 1804, and legal emancipation in 1834. This is largely because scholars have found that Haiti was perceived to be of some significance to debates over the abolition of enslavement, and that there was increased trade between the two countries before France recognised Haitian independence in 1828. Much of this research, as above, has been carried out by David Geggus. In two articles, dating from 1982 and 1985 respectively, Geggus argues that Haiti became a test case, fuelling both sides of the debate for and against the abolition.[81]

In their separate contributions to *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* David Brion Davis, Seymour Drescher, and Robin Blackburn each discuss the notion of the Revolution's impact on abolitionism in the Atlantic World.[82] Davis argues that '[l]ike the Hiroshima bomb, its meaning could be rationalized or repressed but never really forgotten, since it demonstrated the possible fate of every slaveholding society in the New World.'[83] Blackburn joins with Davis in arguing for the importance of the Revolution, but claims that it helped to spread abolitionist zeal, rather than deter it.[84] Davis and Blackburn are

[81] Geggus, 'Haiti and the Abolitionists'; Geggus, 'British Opinion'.
[82] David Geggus, 'Epilogue', in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. by David Geggus (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 247–51 (p. 247).
[83] David Brion Davis, 'The Impact of the French and Haitian Revolutions', in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution*, ed. by Geggus, pp. 3–9 (p. 4).
[84] Robin Blackburn, 'The Force of Example', in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution*, ed. by Geggus, pp. 15–22 (p. 17).

countered by Drescher who contends that the Revolution had very little influence over decisions of abolitionism.[85] The different interpretations of the impact of the Revolution offered by these three scholars shows the varied, and even contradictory, ways in which Haiti and its Revolution were received across the Atlantic, by various audiences, in its immediate aftermath. My thesis is original as it breaks away from abolitionist debates to focus on ideas about Haiti after legal emancipation. As is suggested in the debate between Davis, Blackburn, and Drescher, the meaning of Haiti could be multiple, depending on the contexts in which it was considered.

Ideas about Haiti in Britain outside of the abolitionist debates have been analysed by historians but not beyond the key dates of legal emancipation. Julia Gaffield, for instance, has examined the complicated way in which '[f]oreign governments were willing to extend economic recognition to Haiti even while they withheld official diplomatic recognition.'[86] In an assessment of economic, and also philanthropic, relations between Britain and Haiti, Karen Racine foreshadows Gaffield's argument to some extent. Racine argues that as trade between the two islands increased, philanthropists set about sending technology and experts to remodel Haitian society in the image of Britain: 'Britannia as the saviour of humanity: this was the self-image needed to sustain and inspire the nation… and ideologically there could be no better object for redemption than a

[85] Seymour Drescher, 'The Limits of Example', in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution*, ed. by Geggus, pp. 10–15 (p. 12). Drescher also makes this argument in *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
[86] Gaffield, p. 13.

former French slave colony.'[87] Racine terms this national fervour for the cause of Haiti as 'Haiti fever'.[88] Both Racine and Gaffield expand, and complicate, the scholarly field concerning ideas about Haiti in the British imagination in the early nineteenth century. Their work demonstrates that Haiti was discussed and thought about apart from the question of abolition, being considered in questions of economic and diplomatic relations.

Raphael Hörmann, and Peter Kitson, further contribute to an understanding of how Haiti was thought about in Britain in the years immediately following the Revolution by examining the radical literature of John Thelwall.[89] Hörmann argues that 'Thelwall regards [the Haitian Revolution] as a cataclysmic event that not only hastened the demise of the slave system but might also inspire the European lower classes to rise up against their exploiters.'[90]

What an examination of the historiography on ideas about Haiti in Britain reveals, then, is that Haiti was thought about in a multitude of ways depending on the context in which it was discussed. Such an examination also illustrates the fact that scholars have concentrated entirely on the early nineteenth century.

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[87] Karen Racine, 'Britannia's Bold Brother: British Cultural Influence in Haiti During the Reign of Henry Christophe (1811–1830)', *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 33, 1 (1999), 125–45 (p. 129).

[88] Racine, p. 130.

[89] Raphael Hörmann, 'Thinking the "Unthinkable"? Representations of the Haitian Revolution in British Discourse, 1791 to 1805', in *Human Bondage in the Cultural Contact Zone: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Slavery and Its Discourses*, ed. by Raphael Hörmann and Gesa Mackenthun (Münster: Waxmann, 2010), pp. 137–70; Peter Kitson, 'John Thelwall in Saint Domingue: Race, Slavery, and Revolution in *The Daughter of Adoption: A Tale of Modern Times* (1801)', *Romanticism*, 16, 2 (2010), 120–38. Research on the role of Haiti in radical thought in Britain is currently being undertaken by PhD student James Forde at Griffith University.

[90] Hörmann, p. 159. Kitson offers a slightly more pessimistic view of Haiti's role as inspiration in British radical thought, claiming that Thelwall displayed a degree of sympathy for the white population in Saint Domingue.

Indeed, David Geggus argues that, with the decline in abolitionist discussions following legal emancipation, Haiti 'began to fade from view in the British imagination.'[91] This thesis interrogates what happened following the reduction in abolitionist debates to consider ideas about Haiti in the later context of Victorian imperialism. I argue that Geggus may be correct in his assertion, in the sense that publications concerning Haiti did decrease following legal emancipation, but this does not necessarily mean that Haiti became irrelevant in Britain. Instead, I illustrate that Haiti became powerful as a multivalent symbol of anti-imperialism. Haiti retained such a powerful resonance in the second half of the nineteenth century due to its post-colonial condition and its so-called 'black government'. As the empire expanded and notions of race proliferated in Victorian Britain, Haiti became relevant in new ways, rather than simply 'fading'.[92]

The circulation of ideas about Haiti across the Atlantic World in the later nineteenth century has received relatively little attention from scholars, with research focusing on the separate national context of the United States, and to some extent on the Caribbean, rather than Britain or France.[93] Matthew Smith, for instance, has found that 'in Jamaica, more than any other British colony, Haiti was presented as a warning of what the island could become without British

[91] Geggus, 'Haiti and the Abolitionists', p. 136.
[92] Abolitionist zeal did continue in Britain following legal emancipation in the Caribbean, but it was not as strong a domestic issue. See Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (London: Cornell University Press, 2012).
[93] For a discussion on the lack of scholarship on ideas about Haiti in France, see Charles Forsdick, 'Haiti and France: Settling the Debts of the Past', in *Politics and Power in Haiti*, ed. by Kate Quinn and Paul Sutton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 141–60.

rule.'[94] Despite the fixity of imperial rule over Jamaica in this period, Smith's research reveals the fluctuating significance of Haiti in Jamaica as the two countries together faced the evolving challenges of the world after emancipation. This thesis complements the work of Smith as it examines the importance of imperial rule to ideas about Haiti but in the British, rather than Jamaican, context. These two contexts are, however, related as ideas about Haiti were cited in both places in relation to British rule in Jamaica. In conjunction with Smith's work, this thesis contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the movement of ideas between Jamaica and Britain in the nineteenth century.

A larger amount of work has been carried out on the United States. Although this research is useful for understanding how Haiti was thought about in the Atlantic World in the later nineteenth century, it is specific to the US context. Ideas about Haiti in the United States generally took on a very different significance to those in Britain. A major distinction between the British and US contexts is that Britain lacked a substantial domestic black population at this

[94] Matthew Smith, *Liberty*, *Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica After Emancipation* (North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 2014), p. 5. Mimi Sheller's earlier work on Haiti and Jamaica concurs with Smith's thesis. Sheller's work is a comparative study, arguing that democracy was pressed for by the ex-enslaved in the Caribbean. It is less concerned with the circulation of ideas and people than *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile*. See Mimi Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery*. For discussions of the symbolic role of Haiti in the Caribbean in the earlier nineteenth century, see Bridget Brereton, 'Haiti and the Haitian Revolution in the Political Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Trinidad', in *Reinterpreting the Haitian Revolution and Its Cultural Aftershocks*, ed. by Martin Munro and Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw (Kingston: University of West Indies Press), pp. 123–49; Marcia Headley, 'Imaging Haiti: Perceptions of Haiti in the Atlantic World, 1791–1865' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Howard University, 2012); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Anthony Maingot, 'Haiti and the Terrified Consciousness of the Caribbean', in *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 53–80; Claudius Fergus, '"Dread of Insurrection:" Abolitionism, Security, and Labor in Britain's West India Colonies, 1760–1823', *William and Mary Quarterly* 66, 4, (2009), 757–80; Julia Gaffield, 'Haiti and Jamaica in the Remaking if the Early Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69, 3 (2012), 583–614.

time.[95] Ideas of race that proliferated in Victorian Britain were more concerned with the subjugation of peoples of African descent throughout empire, rather than of a domestic population. Although Anne McClintock argues that ideas about foreign peoples and race were intrinsically linked to concerns regarding the domestic lower classes (an argument that I support and develop in Chapter Four), my point here is to differentiate between the constructions of race according to national demographics.[96] In the US, Haiti was often mobilised in debates regarding domestic 'race' relations.

As with the British context, research into representations of Haiti in the US has focused on Haiti's significance for notions of abolition.[97] Alfred Hunt examines the role played by Haiti in the slave-society of the Southern United States. Rather than simply providing a warning of anti-slavery conflict, Hunt claims, the Haitian revolutionary Toussaint Louverture was revered by many plantation owners for his maintenance of the plantation system.[98] Ultimately 'Toussaint Louverture's success was a victory of the New World over the Old.'[99] Hunt is joined in an assessment of Haiti in the US context by Matthew Clavin who considers Haiti in various aspects of US society around the time of the American

[95] This is not to say that there was not a black population in Britain, more that it did not proportionately match that of the United States and it was not discussed to the same extent. For an analysis of the history of black people in Britain, see Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984).
[96] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995).
[97] A major exception to this is Michael Dash's book *Haiti and the United States* that provides an analysis of literary representations of Haiti over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1988).
[98] Alfred Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p. 86.
[99] Hunt, p. 87.

Civil War.[100] Clavin argues that the significance of Haiti could change according to the aims of the people who mobilised it:

> They furiously debated whether the revolution was a nightmare to dread or a singular triumph worthy of admiration — and perhaps even emulation; whether Louverture was a blood thirsty savage determined to avenge centuries of racial oppression or a brave and determined soldier and statesman who rivalled history's greatest men.[101]

Both Hunt and Clavin examine a US context in which enslavement is of central importance. Karen Salt, in her PhD dissertation 'The Haitian Question', elucidates the evolving nature of the significance of Haiti in the context of US imperialism.[102] For example, in assessing the Haitian Pavilion at the Chicago World's Fair, Salt contends that Haiti was 'white washed' to make it seem more amenable to foreign investment:

> in order to be included in the 'white city,' the republic would be represented neither as a space of racial equality, nor as one of racial neutrality, but as a (pseudo) white nation… Haiti and its revolutionary past could be de-racialized and mis-remembered, thereby erasing its black citizens from the cultural landscape. Divested of this tainted past

[100] Matthew Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
[101] Clavin, p. 4.
[102] Brandon Byrd has also paid attention to the shifting significance of Haiti in the wake of the Civil War. See 'Black Republicans, Black Republic: African-Americans, Haiti, and the Promise of Reconstruction', *Slavery and Abolition*, 36, 4 (2014), 1–23.

> and rhetorically cleansed of its blackness, Haiti could emerge as the US's favored Atlantic child, ready for its 'parent' to control its political and economic plans for the future.[103]

In the United States, in the later nineteenth century, then, Haiti held multiple meanings that responded to discussions on domestic relations as well as the imperial ambitions of the nation. Ideas about Haiti in the United States are thus differentiated from those in Britain as they appeared in a separate national context. In examining the British context, my work complements the historiography as it allows for comparison between the British and US contexts. This furthers our understanding of how Haiti was thought about in the Atlantic context.

Through examining representations of Haiti in imperial Britain, I thus provide an original contribution to the historiography on representations of Haiti in the Atlantic World in the second half of the nineteenth century. I am primarily concerned with the question of how a potentially threatening presence was incorporated into an imperial ideology in different historical moments in the second half of the nineteenth century. The specific imperial problems that I discuss, from European imperial rivalries to 'unruly' rebellion in Jamaica, conditioned the respective representation of Haiti. Evolving imperial contexts,

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[103] Karen Salt, 'The Haitian Question' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Purdue University, 2011), p. 89. For representations of Haiti in the United States in the twentieth century, see Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Lindsay Twa, *Visualizing Haiti in U.S. Culture, 1910–1950* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). Millery Polyné also explores increasingly imperialistic relations between the United States and Haiti, see 'Expansion Now!: Haiti, "Santo Domingo," and Frederick Douglass at the Intersection of Pan-Americanism', *Caribbean Studies*, 34, 2 (2006), 3–45.

then, in combination with deep-rooted imperial ideology, shaped the representations of Haiti in Britain.

Chapter Overview

This thesis seeks to demonstrate that ideas about Haiti in Britain retained a degree of fixity throughout the period that I investigate, but their significance also evolved as they moved between historical contexts and genres. Chapter One focuses on the portrayal of Emperor Faustin I of Haiti in the British press. Specifically, I examine the reception of portraits commissioned by Faustin I (and disseminated across the Atlantic in the *Album Imperial d'Haïti* [1852]) in the *Illustrated London News*. The copies of these images in the newspaper give Soulouque European facial features, making him appear racially 'hybrid'. Such a 'distortion', I demonstrate, relates to Victorian views on hybridity as suggesting the failure of empire. Read against Anglo-French imperial rivalries, such a depiction was considered to damn the French imperial government relative to the superiority British imperialism. Chapter Two examines the communication networks between anthropologists, diplomats, politicians, and the political discourse surrounding the Morant Bay War (Jamaica 1865). Rather than being equated with French imperial failure, in this case study Haiti was compared to Jamaica. It was perceived to suggest racial massacre and the unwanted consequences of extending political empowerment to the black population in the Caribbean. The movement of ideas that I examine in this chapter is not only between the Caribbean and British contexts but also between 'elite' and 'popular' spheres. There was little popular awareness of Haiti in the run up to this conflict. Yet in its aftermath, 'elite' notions about Haiti — such as those detailed by the

Anthropological Society of London — converged with the popular so that Haiti became a powerful warning against the loosening of British colonial control in the Caribbean.

In Chapter Three I analyse the communication circuit of the travel narrative *Hayti or the Black Republic* (1884) by the British Consul to Haiti, Spenser St John. St John's book initially intervened in the debate over the colonisation of Africa, suggesting through the example of Haiti, that civilisation was only possible amongst people of African descent if under the 'supervision' of European authority. St John argues that in the absence of colonial control, Haiti was in a state of decadence (regressing from civilisation). The book was then interpreted by readers to have multiple meanings according to the context in which it was received. In the popular British press, the book was deployed to understand contemporary skirmishes between Haitian and British forces as well as ideas about 'fetish worship'; for Caribbean observers, *Hayti or the Black Republic* had ramifications for the debate over extending the franchise to elements of the black population. St John responded to the receptions of his book by realigning the significance of the work in its second edition (1889). In this later issue, the author explicitly remarks on its importance for understanding 'Vaudoux', and questions of enfranchisement in the Caribbean.[104]

[104] I use the spelling 'Vaudoux' here rather than Vodou to differentiate between the practices as understood by Victorian British commentators at the time and the religion of Vodou. Alasdair Pettinger has pointed to the significance of this spelling by 'Western' observers, arguing that it highlighted a certain perception, tied to fetishism and notions of witchcraft, as opposed to the material practice of the Vodou religion. I use the term 'Vaudoux' throughout the thesis in a bid to highlight the Victorian conception of it as separate from the religion. See Alasdair Pettinger 'From Vaudoux to Voodoo', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 40, 4 (2004) pp. 415–425.

I extend the analysis of communication circuits in Chapter Four by examining fictional works on Haiti that appeared in the wake of *Hayti or the Black Republic*. As notions of Haitian decadence appeared in these fictions, St John loses control over the meaning of Haiti. And yet, St John's ideas about Haiti remain intact in these works as his discourse on Haitian decadence, that he argued to present a warning against the post-colonial condition, remains apparent. Establishing a direct intertextuality between St John's work and fictions on Haiti is not possible but, I argue, taken together these various works show a common understanding of Haiti in the British imagination. In all these texts, Haiti is portrayed as suffering from a movement away from civilisation and is represented as an example of a non-colonised black population.

In Chapter Five, I demonstrate that Haiti suggested a radical anti-imperialism to the British press and the British government at the beginning of the twentieth century. This perception was emphasised in the run up to, and during, the commemorations of the centenary of Haitian independence that took place in 1904. Around this time there was heightened tension in Haiti between Haitians and foreigners. British consular agents wrote to the Foreign Office of their conviction that a massacre of the white population, and repetition of 1804, was going to happen. The strength of this view of Haiti was such that Haiti could not be evoked by colonised subjects in making claims against the British government for imperial reforms. As discussed above, this resulted in Haiti's spectrality at the Pan-African Conference in 1900.

The chapters are, then, to some extent disjointed in that they involve the analysis of sources with disparate groups of authors and audiences. But combined these chapters illustrate the specific ways in which ideas about Haiti

changed, and remained consistent, between 1847 and 1904. In particular, when taken together, they elucidate the way in which ideas about Haiti were passed between contexts, and demonstrate a degree of consistency regarding who controlled the meaning, and significance, of Haiti in this time period. Supposed 'experts', and travellers, had a certain authority over the representation of Haiti in Britain. The connections between these key groups and individuals are made clear across the chapters. The *Illustrated London News*, examined in Chapter One, for instance, reappears in Chapter Two as it was read (and contributed to) by anthropologists. The travel narrative of one such anthropologist, Spenser St John, is the focus of Chapter Three and it is the relationship between his book and works of fiction that is analysed in Chapter Four. I thus demonstrate the connections between the differing authors and audiences examined throughout this thesis to show the way in which notions about Haiti were communicated across this time period. Chapter Five is exceptional to the direct relations that I establish between the authors and audiences in the rest of the thesis. My contention is that this chapter supports the arguments made throughout this thesis as it illustrates the prevalence, and power, of the ideas about Haiti examined in Chapters One to Four. In conjunction with the other Chapters, Chapter Five shows that ideas about Haiti were established within the British imperial imagination without relying on a specific text, but that Haiti had become a 'stereotype'. Chapter Five thus provides a crucial insight into the extent to which ideas about Haiti were understood across British society and the Atlantic World. The networks in which knowledge about Haiti was constructed and disseminated were exclusive to the detriment of Haitians. Within networks of experts, Haitian history and knowledge offered by Haitians were repeatedly

silenced, albeit in different ways. Such silencing served to support the expansion of British imperialism.

Chapter One

Representing France and Haiti: Soulouque (Faustin I) and the *Illustrated London News*

Introduction

In 1849 the president of Haiti, Faustin Soulouque, crowned himself Emperor Faustin I. In Britain, this act was interpreted as evidence that the Haitian government mirrored that of France, due to its recent history of having an emperor and, significantly, previous colonial ties between France and Haiti. This parallel was doubly enhanced for many British observers, when, in 1852, Soulouque ordered a second coronation in the style of Napoleon I shortly before Napoleon III proclaimed himself emperor of France. Such purported imitation was emphasised in the British press as highlighting a 'brotherhood' between Soulouque and Napoleon III and suggested that Haiti's ancestral lineage could be traced back to France. Assessments of the Haitian and French empires were, then, used to understand one another.

This episode of perceived mimicry and repetition has drawn comment from several scholars. Elizabeth Childs, and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, have examined the way in which Soulouque was represented in the French press as a means of critiquing the French emperor, whereas Colin Dayan has analysed its importance for understanding Franco-Haitian post-colonial relations.[1] In this

[1] Elizabeth Childs, 'Big Trouble: Daumier, Gargantua, and the Censorship of Political Caricature', *Art Journal*, 51, 1 (1992), 26–37; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, 'Cursed Mimicry: France and Haiti, Again (1848–51)', *Art History*, 38, 1 (2015), 68–105; Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Joan Dayan now publishes under the name Colin Dayan.

chapter I interrogate representations of Faustin Soulouque in Britain, focussing specifically on images in the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*). Examining representations of Soulouque in the *ILN* reveals an important insight into the way that certain British people thought about Haiti. Representations of Soulouque and Haiti were not only used as a means of codifying Haiti but also to critique French forms of imperialism and, in contrast, to privilege Britain's role in the world. As scholars such as Isabelle Tombs and Robert Tombs argue, Anglo-French rivalry was strong between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.[2] By analysing the representations of Haiti in the *ILN*, I offer an insight into this rivalry as I examine the previously unexplored way in which the ex-colonies of France were instrumentalised as a means to critique French colonial rule.[3] Haiti was not only used to define Britishness against the Haitian 'other', but also to contrast 'successful' British imperialism against that of its traditional enemy, France. In the image of Haiti in the *ILN*, the ex-colony was portrayed as an example of French colonial failure, as well as a warning of the post-colonial condition as it was perceived to lack 'proper' government. What becomes clear in my analysis is that these ideas about Haiti were developed despite the attempt of Haitians, in particular Soulouque, to challenge and correct them. My analysis thereby also allows for an understanding of the processes involved in the silencing of the Haitian voice that took place in Britain.

[2] Isabelle Tombs and Robert Tombs, *That Sweet Enemy: From the Sun King to the Present* (London: William Heinemann, 2006).

[3] As I argue below, a similar approach has been undertaken by Kate Marsh in an analysis of eighteenth-century French ideas about British-controlled India. See Kate Marsh, *India in the French Imagination: Peripheral Voices, 1754–1815* (London: Routledge, 2009).

The chapter begins with a discussion of representations of Soulouque in Britain and France more broadly. While Soulouque was emperor of Haiti (1849–59), his image was repeatedly deployed in Britain and France to analyse the perceived failures of the French government of Napoleon III. I then move on to analyse the representations of Soulouque in the *ILN*. Although there are many similarities between these portrayals and those found in the broader British press, this weekly newspaper was particular in its stylistic conventions and in its readership. In providing images with its news stories, the *ILN* was distinguished from other higher-priced newspapers in that it related to a growing culture of display that included not only the Great Exhibition (1851), but also museums and smaller exhibitions.[4] The *ILN* thereby complemented exhibitionary practices. The images and articles concerning Soulouque were thereby presented with an enhanced 'objectivity' as the reader could see the claims of the newspaper evidenced in visual form. In keeping with the notion of curiosity, the *ILN* also paid particular attention to the events of empire. The images of Soulouque were thereby framed by a claim to 'truthfulness' as well as an interest in British imperialism. This close context of representation provided by the *ILN*, I argue, is essential for understanding the way in which Haiti is domesticated as it is used to understand the place of Britain vis-à-vis France.

The perception of the objectivity of the *ILN* aided in the silencing of the Haitian voice. It printed an image of Soulouque that was based on a portrait commissioned and distributed across the Atlantic World by the Haitian emperor.

[4] For the growing culture of display in the nineteenth century, see John MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

Significantly, the face of Soulouque in the image in the *ILN* is Europeanised so that he appears as a result of 'miscegenation'. Such 'inter-racial' sexual contact, as Ann Laura Stoler has argued, was considered as a symptom of colonial malpractice, as the failure to properly police the relations between colonial subjects and colonising forces.[5] The image of Soulouque thus provides a commentary on colonial failure, specifically that of Britain's 'old enemy', France. The article that accompanies the image emphasises a further perceived problem with French imperialism in relation to Haiti: it claims that Haiti had inherited the French propensity for revolution and political instability. Soulouque's attempt to assert Haitian sovereignty by providing a visual representation of the Haitian empire is thus ignored in the *ILN*. Instead Haiti is used in a critique of French modes of government and colonialism.

Adoption and Mimicry: Representations of Soulouque in the French Press

In 1849 Soulouque crowned himself Emperor Faustin I. In the Haitian national context, Murdo MacLeod argues that the declaration of empire consolidated Soulouque's hold over the Haitian government.[6] Soulouque became emperor for life as well as creating imperial titles to co-opt potential rivals. The style of their new government and the coronation, as Colin Dayan maintains, copied that of Napoleon I (1804).[7] The supposed mimicry of the French emperor's government

[5] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
[6] Murdo J. MacLeod, 'The Soulouque Regime in Haiti, 1847–1859: A Revaluation', *Caribbean Studies*, 10, 3 (1971), 35–48 (p. 35). Historian John Baur has also made this point. See 'Faustin Soulouque, Emperor of Haiti: His Character and His Reign', *The Americas*, 6, 2 (1949), 131–66.
[7] Dayan, pp. 10–11.

garnered much comment across the Atlantic World, with the press in Europe and the Americas offering various interpretations and explanations. As opposed to the Haitian context, in Europe and the Americas, the coronation, and declaration of an empire, was not necessarily perceived as investing Soulouque's government with increased authority. In this section I examine broader representations of Soulouque in France in order to provide contextual background for the images of the Haitian emperor in Britain and the *ILN*. Richard Scully argues that caricatures of Napoleon easily translated from the French to the British context.[8] I contend that such translations occurred as the pictures of Soulouque were not only informed by images coming out of Haiti but also from France. In Britain and France, there was a consistent tendency to portray Soulouque to critique the French emperor.

The adoption of a French-style government by Soulouque can be seen as an attempt to assert the legitimacy of the Haitian government in a vocabulary that was comprehensible to the imperial powers that surrounded Haiti. It would have been important to Soulouque to make such assertions for although it was not re-colonised in the nineteenth century, the United States, France, and Britain all took up a policy of gunboat diplomacy regarding Haiti. On at least one occasion during Soulouque's rule, Britain and France acted in concert to blockade Haitian ports with the threat of violence until money was paid.

In this pronouncement, Soulouque used a strategy that had precedents in Haitian history. Postcolonial critic Srinivas Aravamudan argues that one way in which colonised subjects resisted imperialism and seized agency was 'through

[8] Richard Scully, 'The Cartoon Emperor: The Impact of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte on European Comic Art, 1848–1870', *European Comic Art*, 4, 2 (2011), 147–80 (p. 158).

contesting language, space, and the language of space that typifies the justification of colonialism.'[9] In elucidating his argument, Aravamudan uses the example of the image of Toussaint Louverture in French military uniform:

> Such iconography of Toussaint, frequently in full French military regalia, emphasizes the manner in which resistance is… resoundingly stated in vocabulary that the colonial power can understand, admire, and reject.[10]

Of course, although Louverture made a forceful statement of his authority, in a vocabulary that was understood by European onlookers, his claim to that authority was, ultimately, denied by the French government. Louverture, for Aravamudan, provides an example of a 'tropicopolitan', meaning a 'colonized subject who exists both as fictive construct of colonial tropology *and* actual resident of tropical space, object of representation *and* agent of resistance.'[11] Although Louverture and Soulouque faced significantly different historical circumstances, not least as Louverture had not declared independence from France whereas Soulouque was attempting to assert and defend it against imperial powers, Soulouque can be considered a 'tropicopolitan'. By adopting the regalia of Napoleon I and a specifically European-style government Soulouque resisted imperialism and provided a claim of independence in a vernacular that European observers could understand.

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[9] Srinivas Aravamudan *Tropicopolitans: Colonialism and Agency, 1688–1804* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 6.
[10] Aravamudan, p. 303.
[11] Aravamudan, p. 4.

Soulouque can be conceived of as a tropicopolitan in one further sense: like Louverture, he acted as a resident of a 'tropical space' that resisted imperialism, and yet Soulouque was treated as an object of representation not only in Haiti's ex-metropole, France, but across Europe. Although Soulouque resisted imperialism, his treatment as such an object of representation illustrates a certain reoccurring dynamic of the imperialism to which Haiti was subject during its Revolution. Despite Haiti's 'post-colonial' status, Haitians continued to be subject to imperial aggression and to be represented as an extreme example of the imperial 'other'. In these conceptions, Soulouque's claim to have established a legitimate empire based on the French precedent was ignored and the Haitian emperor was instead perceived as a parody of the French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte. According to Dayan, the perception that certain European practices were made absurd when undertaken in the colonies was not unique to the nineteenth century but also took place during the Old Regime in France:

> What is allowed, admired, or unquestioned in Europe becomes ludicrous in the colonies. The glories and refinements of the Old Regime, when practiced by those who did not inherit the right to do so, can be nothing but the worst kind of imitation, degraded and degrading.[12]

In the later context of the mid-nineteenth-century French press, the authority of Soulouque's empire was similarly queried and undermined as a 'ludicrous' parody of French government. Soulouque was caricatured as a despot, as art

[12] Dayan, p. 172

historian Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby explains in an analysis of newspapers such as *Le Charivari*: 'Soulouque was the bogey-man of political upheaval; the monstrous unchained black man with exaggerated gargantuan jaw, over-sized lips, and bestial blackness, the feared insatiable avenger, but also the fool.' [13]

Elizabeth Childs contends that the appearance of Soulouque in this form was a response by French critics to the government of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his censorship laws. Childs explains that where direct representations of Bonaparte were censored, 'exotic' surrogates were used instead:

> Soulouque first appears in [the caricaturist] Daumier's work in June 1850 as a barbaric despot who angrily plunges a terrified journalist into a boiling cauldron… This satire does not refer to any event in Haiti; rather, Daumier here casts Louis-Napoléon in blackface in order to criticize the French government's recent repression of a republican newspaper.[14]

Although Childs is correct in the assertion that the caricatures do not depict any particular event in Haiti, the coronation of Soulouque made the Haitian emperor particularly relevant for French assessments of Bonaparte. This was particularly so as Bonaparte prepared for his own coronation after that of Soulouque. Grigsby argues that Napoleon III, as he became known, may have been copying his uncle, Napoleon I, but the emperor was also repeating the actions of Soulouque: 'Not only was France repeating its history; not only was Haiti repeating France's history; but France could be construed as repeating what it took to be Haiti's

[13] Grigsby, p. 83.
[14] Childs, p. 36.

caricature of its own history.'[15] In a double movement, representations of Soulouque in the French press served to undermine the authority and legitimacy of both the French and Haitian emperors. In this reflection, the referent of Haiti is evacuated.

In the British context, analyses of Haiti, and its emperor, were deployed to critique not only the French government but also the perceived failure of French imperialism.[16] The practice of assessing the other's empire in order to critique the respective metropole was, as Kate Marsh argues in a study of French understandings of British colonised India, a long running practice. In the eighteenth century, Marsh contends, '[w]ithin French cultural production, the trope of India was employed not as a means of imposing and maintaining colonial power, but rhetorically to oppose another coloniser: France's European rival, Britain.'[17] In the British press, as I argue below, France's ex-colony of Haiti was similarly instrumentalised to critique French colonial failure, thereby reifying the idea that Britain was indeed at the vanguard of a progressive imperialism.

The British Press and the *Illustrated London News*: Perceptions of Soulouque as a Despot

Reactions in the broader British press to the inauguration of Soulouque as president in 1847 were initially tentative. *The Times* reported: 'the elevation of

[15] Grigsby, p. 81. As I illustrate below, (p. 82), this implication was made explicit in the British press.
[16] Tombs and Tombs; Linda Colley similarly argues that Britishness was forged in part in opposition to France. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, 2nd edn (London: Pimlico, 2003).
[17] Marsh, p. 5.

General Soulouque to the office of President had been received [in Haiti] with every favourable demonstration… Business affairs continued in a quiet condition.'[18] Primarily at stake, for this anonymous writer, was the effect of Haitian politics for British–Haitian trade. This tone shifted to one of derision as Soulouque demonstrated an opposition in the face of the diplomatic and financial ambitions of Europe. Soulouque created a state monopoly over buying coffee to ensure a fair price for the farmers, and he refused to pay the French indemnity, arguing that he could only do so if he was able to invade the Dominican Republic and control the revenue of their ports.[19] Despite British, French, and American attempts to dissuade Soulouque from doing so, he invaded the neighbouring territory on two occasions in 1849 and 1852.[20] As Laurent Dubois maintains, 'if Soulouque was usually dismissed by external critics as stupid and inept, it was also in part precisely because he proved rather stubborn in the face of outside pressures, granting few concessions to foreign governments.'[21] Soulouque's reputation in France and Britain as violent and despotic was consolidated as the press published reports, arriving into Europe through official dispatches, on the president's attack against his political rivals. The London-based *Examiner* informed its readers that Soulouque had 'butchered' his adversaries:

[18] [Anonymous], 'The Latest Intelligence From Port-au-Prince', *The Times*, 22 April 1847, p. 6.
[19] Robert Heinl, Nancy Heinl and Michael Heinl, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492–1995* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1996), p. 201; David Nicholls, *Haiti in the Caribbean Context: Ethnicity, Economy and Revolt* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1985), p. 102.
[20] Heinl, Heinl and Heinl, p. 201.
[21] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershock of History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2012), p. 146.

> [T]heir heads being chopped off, and their bodies hacked up in the most horrible manner; many in whom life was not yet extinct… the bodies being carried off in cart loads to the beach, and there buried in deep trenches.[22]

The *ILN* shared in representing Soulouque as a violent despot. But the images of Soulouque in the *ILN* took on a further significance, as the newspaper appealed to its readers by reporting on the world through the additional medium of imagery.

There was a significant increase in the volume of newspapers in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. The *ILN* held a particular position within this expanding market. Between 1840 and 1860, the growth in the number of books published per annum outstripped population growth tenfold, a trend mirrored by the expansion of the periodical press.[23] Within the general growth of the press, publishers targeted specific readerships.[24] As Patrick Leary argues, at a relatively high price of 6d a copy, the *ILN* was not widely accessible to the popular classes and instead maintained a broadly middle-class readership.[25] The content of the weekly newspaper reflects a particular interest in world affairs, as

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[22] [Anonymous], 'Foreign and Colonial', *Examiner*, 10 June 1848, p. 373.
[23] The British population grew by 40% whereas the number of books published per annum grew by 400%. Such rapid increase was encouraged by a general rise in disposable income along with an upsurge in literacy rates due to educational reform as well as a fall in the costs of print production. See Andrew King and John Plunkett, 'Introduction', in *Victorian Print Media: A Reader*, ed. by Andrew King and John Plunkett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 1–10 (p. 2 and p. 5); Matthew Rubery, *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction after the Invention of the News* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 7–8.
[24] See King and Plunkett, p. 168.
[25] Patrick Leary, 'A Brief History of *The Illustrated London News*', The Illustrated London News Historical Archive <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/illustrated-london-news/research-tools.aspx> [accessed 28/03/2014].

its opening address makes clear: '[our ambition is] to keep continually before the eyes of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences.'[26] At the centre of the world that the *ILN* purported to report was London.[27] From the metropolitan centre, the *ILN* provided a view of the world for a bourgeois audience. Images of Haiti in this context necessarily related to ideas about Britain's position on the world stage.

The practice of the *ILN* in classifying and aestheticising 'the world' for a domestic audience took place in a broader context of display and the building of knowledge about empire and beyond. John MacKenzie notes, in a study of the Victorian museum, that the practice of displaying 'foreign' objects was inextricably linked to imperialism: 'Reverence in the face of grand mysteries gave way to a sense of the possibilities of knowing and therefore the opportunity for power, protection and control.'[28] The museum cabinet, MacKenzie further maintains, represented the objective classification of the world. Through the separate medium of the newspaper, the *ILN* made claims equal to the museum in representing the world in an 'objective' manner. The pictures published in the newspaper used the most advanced technology available in an attempt to reflect a perceived 'reality':

> The *ILN*'s belief in the value of wood engraving as an authentic and truthful… medium for reproducing reality was unwavering, and its achievement in convincing its readers of this belief is a major factor in the

[26] [Anonymous], 'Our Address', *Illustrated London News*, 14 May 1842, p. 1.
[27] C. A. Simmons, 'Fringes of Civilization: Provincial Imperialism and the *Illustrated London News*', *Wordsworth Circle*, 32, 1 (2001), 4–9 (p. 4).
[28] MacKenzie, p. 1.

magazine's sustained hold over the British middle class world view throughout the Victorian period.[29]

The *ILN*'s focus on providing 'truthful' images of empire can be seen as part of a similar movement to that of the museum — constructing knowledge about the empire so that areas of the globe could be understood and controlled, not only by imperial elites but, potentially, by a broader British middle class. The *ILN*'s commentary on Soulouque should be conceived within the context of concerns for the British empire as a means of achieving supremacy on the world stage.

The growth of museums, along with the establishment of the *ILN*, coincided with that of exhibitions concerned with representing different areas of the world, such as the Great Exhibition of 1851. These exhibitions, MacKenzie explains, were 'museums of global explanation.'[30] The display of objects thereby impressed on the viewer a certain reality in which the British empire became the vehicle through which the world would and could be understood. The *ILN* first appeared in this context of displaying objects and peoples. Thomas Prasch notes that 'the *ILN* and international exhibitions shared a common aim: to deploy technologies of spectacular display in the interest of common knowledge.'[31] The complementary relationship between these forms of display is evident in the sales of the *ILN*: during the first week of the Crystal Palace Great Exhibition in

[29] Brian Maidment, 'Representing the Victorians – Illustration and the *ILN*', The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/illustrated-london-news/research-tools.aspx> [accessed 28/03/2014].
[30] MacKenzie, p. 1.
[31] Thomas Prasch, 'The *ILN* and International Exhibitions', The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/illustrated-london-news/research-tools.aspx> [accessed 28/03/2014].

1851 sales of the *ILN* reached 100,000 copies, more than ever before.[32] In printed format then, the *ILN* contributed to the growing interest in spectacle. Conceptions of human difference (as I argue in Chapter Two) were perceived as fundamental in the rationalisation of imperial control.

This culture of display involved not only objects but also the exhibition of people. Sadiah Qureshi contends that 'paying to see living foreign peoples perform was enormously popular in the nineteenth century.'[33] Qureshi argues that such human exhibitions served more than a popular demand for entertainment, they also encouraged the science of human difference.[34] The *ILN* overlapped with the media of human shows in the sense that it often featured images of people on display, uniting news coverage with voyeurism. Such a strategy was shared by showmen who capitalised on the coverage of international affairs in the press by claiming to display ethnic groups of people who had recently been in the news.[35] The *ILN* thus offered more nuanced commentaries on matters of empire and global politics compared to other types of display. The images of peoples in the *ILN* thereby often related to a context of heightened public interest in relation to those people.

The display of peoples, as Qureshi suggests, was experienced by a range of visitors from both the popular and bourgeois classes. It was the middle

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[32] Leary, 'A Brief History'.
[33] Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 2. For the culture of display in the nineteenth century see also Sadiah Qureshi, 'Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples and the Natural History of Race, 1854–1866', *The Historical Journal*, 54, 1 (2011), 143–66; Nadja Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Pascal Blanchard et al, eds, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
[34] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*.
[35] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, p. 68.

classes, Qureshi argues, that were more inclined to view foreign bodies to garner a certain education about the world. Catering to a bourgeois market, the editors of the *ILN* were less concerned with the popular, purely entertaining, aspects of display. The *ILN* is further differentiated from the wider culture of spectacle as it purported to provide images of specific foreign elites. Unlike people on display, who at times would dress as 'chiefs' or royalty, to represent a generic idea of alien elites, the *ILN* depicted the specific people discussed in its news stories.[36] The images of Soulouque in the *ILN* thus appear in a context of 'curiosity' and a search for 'truthfulness' as they combine display with a critique of the Haitian government. Such a claim to objectivity on the part of the *ILN* would have helped its images to appear as more 'truthful'. As I argue below, the images were not necessarily 'accurate' reflections but instead reveal an anxiety regarding the position of the British empire in the Atlantic and in Europe. At the same time, the supposed objectivity of the images helped to privilege concerns of British exceptionalism. Providing images with the supposed authority of objectivity meant that there was less reason to consider alternative depictions as truthful. In these 'objective' visions of Haiti, which simultaneously emphasised a British exceptionalism, the Haitian voice was ignored.

The first coronation of Soulouque was reported in the *Illustrated London News* as a despotic and corrupt act on behalf of the president: 'it mattered little whether the Legislature acceded to the petition or not, as the crown and crown jewels were purchased.'[37] The article is positioned on the second page of the

[36] See Durbach.
[37] [Anonymous], 'The Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 24 November 1849, p. 338.

issue of the newspaper, under the section on 'Foreign and Colonial News'. Placing the report in this section, rather than with, for instance, the puzzles, and stories on the personal lives of well-known 'celebrities' (routinely found towards the back of the *ILN*) indicates that it should be read as a serious news item. The text is accompanied by an image entitled 'Faustin the First, Emperor of Hayti, in Council' (see Figure 1), that is situated on the front page, again suggesting that the report is to be read as an issue of political importance.

Figure 1: 'The Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 24 November 1849, p. 37. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

The appearance, and positioning, of the Bicorne hat, in the style of Napoleon I, described in the article as Soulouque's 'usual uniform', suggests the presence of a French military and institutional legacy without making explicit the reference to Napoleon I. According to Scully, the Bicorne hat was routinely used in images to highlight the legacy of Napoleon I. The picture offers the reader an implicit commentary on the failures of French imperialism as Soulouque's

despotic declaration for an empire suggests the assuming of a French-style government both in terms of clothing and in practice. France is critiqued in a number of ways through this report, and accompanying image. In equating Napoleon with Soulouque, French rule is also represented as authoritarian and debauched. Perhaps of more significance, though, is that, in displaying symbols of French government in Haiti, the image reminds the audience of French involvement in Haiti. In this image, it is both the historical ties between Haiti and France that is represented, as well as (through Soulouque's authoritarianism) Haiti's 'independence'. Through presenting a post-colonial government that is nevertheless influenced by French ideals, the image proposes a double failure on behalf of French governance over its colonies: it has both lost control over Haiti, and has imbued its government with inappropriate forms of rule.

Soulouque was clearly aware of his 'bad press' across the Atlantic World. Following his first coronation, the emperor decided on crowning himself a second time. This was to be a much more ornate affair than the first, as Soulouque and the royal family wore, and displayed, an elaborate iconography of empire. The style of this regalia, from the sceptre to the bejewelled gown, were exact replicas of those used by Napoleon I during his coronation in 1804. As I argue in the following section, in emphasising the iconography of empire, Soulouque was attempting to correct Atlantic-wide representations of him as a despotic and illegitimate emperor.

The Haitian Response: A Counter Visuality

In representing the emperor, the *ILN* ignored Soulouque's claims of an 'authentic' Haitian empire. Soulouque was reported to have been aware of the

general representations of himself in the press across the Atlantic World. Such an awareness was conceived, though, within racialised conceptions of people of African descent being particularly susceptible to their emotions. As one traveller to Haiti stated: 'The caricatures and jokes of the French press wound him deeply; in that respect he is exceedingly susceptible.'[38] In 1852, Soulouque organised a second coronation, with a larger emphasis on deploying the iconography of empire, such as an elaborate crown, a state sword, a sceptre and gowns, in the style of Napoleon I. In the build up to the coronation the *ILN* reported that the sword made for Soulouque 'is one of the most superb state swords ever manufactured in England.'[39]

Figure 2: 'State Sword for the Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 24 August 1850, p. 168. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

Despite the sword's quality, the author of the report appears unconvinced of its ability to invest Soulouque with the authority of statehood. In a statement that seems to be intended as sarcastic, considering commonplace derisory comments about Soulouque in the British press, the author writes: 'The illustrious Soulouque has already given abundant evidence of his fondness for the trappings

[38] [Anonymous], 'The Emperor of Hayti and His Court', *Lloyds's Weekly Newspaper*, 5 May 1850.
[39] [Anonymous], 'State Sword for the Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 24 August 1850, p. 168.

of Royal state, and here is an additional instance.'[40] The reporter implies that Soulouque has adopted the clothes of royalty without necessarily investing his state with that authority.

In describing the clothes of Soulouque and his court during the coronation, the *ILN* emphasises the incomplete dresses of the nobles, suggesting an inadequate attempt at a coronation:

> A flowing white tunic reaching to the knee, a blue velvet mantle, with a rich gold border, fastened round the neck with golden tassels, lined with crimson silk, white silk stockings, red morocco Wellingtons, sword with gold hilt, a hat with plumes of the national colours, looped up in front. It is true, alas! that in the procession many of these noble dukes showed their black skins to the admiring population, their funds not being equal to the expense.[41]

The lack of funds in this instance is contrasted against a review of the Haitian government's expenditure two paragraphs later: 'The revenue of his empire is alone £160,000, the expenditure has been £200,000. Whenever his Majesty requires money, he taxes his subjects. If any of his Ministers remonstrates, he cuts their head off.'[42] Although Soulouque attempted to provide a corrective to the (mis)representations of himself in Europe by emphasising his regal position through the second coronation, the *ILN* took this as evidence of his illegitimacy.

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[40] 'State Sword'.
[41] [Anonymous], 'His Imperial Majesty Faustin, Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 16 February 1856, p. 186.
[42] 'His Imperial Majesty'.

The second coronation was portrayed as an even greater example of farce than the first.

The strongest suggestion that Soulouque was attempting to reach an Atlantic-wide audience with this corrective was the publication and distribution, across the Atlantic World, of the *Album Imperial d'Haïti*. Soulouque commissioned the *Album* shortly after the second coronation in 1852. Significantly, it was published in New York, one of the Atlantic's largest port cities, meaning that it could be, and was, sent across the Atlantic to Europe. The *Album* consists of lithographed images, based on daguerreotypes. It involves two landscapes of the coronation ceremony and eight portraits respectively showing Soulouque, Adelina (see Figure 3 and Figure 4), their daughter Princess Olive and members of the royal court. Having imported their clothes from France and Britain, and dressing in similar fashion to Napoleon I at his coronation, Soulouque and Adelina appear as European monarchs. As Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby argues, the distribution of the *Album* to an international audience was intended as a response to the various caricatures and (mis)representations of Soulouque that circulated. In Europe and America: 'Here was a powerful set of pictures that provided a means of comparison, a corrective that discouraged ridicule.'[43] *The Times*, at least, framed its report on receiving the *Album* in terms of an intervention on behalf of Soulouque:

> the Consul of Hayti at Hamburg has determined to protect the august person of his Sovereign [Soulouque]… against all caricatures printed…

[43] Grigsby, p. 89.

> This reminds us that we have received a copy of a very handsome lithographed album.[44]

The *Album* was here perceived as part of a wider protest, on the part of Haitian authorities, against European (mis)representation that detracted from the authority of the Haitian state. Indeed, *The Times* further suggests, in reference to the image of Soulouque, '[i]t would be a rather hard task imposed upon an artist to caricature such a face.'[45]

The images of Soulouque and his royal household contrast sharply with common depictions of people of African descent in Victorian Britain.[46] Marcus Wood argues that 'in the mid-nineteenth century blackness was almost inevitably associated with slavery, and the imaging of black people was involved in a cultural backlash against previous decades of abolition propaganda.'[47] The expectation, Wood further explains, was that black people were to be pictured as utterly passive. Similarly, Jan Nederveen Pieterse argues, images of the African population situated in Africa were consistently cast as in need of the 'civilising mission': 'the images of the savage and the heathen merged in a Christian vision of "fallen creatures"'.[48] Within these two contexts of representation, Soulouque

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[44] [Anonymous], 'The Album of the Imperial Family of Hayti', *The Times*, 14 October 1852, p. 8.
[45] 'The Album'.
[46] On the importance of placing an image in the context of other depictions on the same subject, see Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 2001), p. 11.
[47] Marcus Wood, *Blind Memoy: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 144.
[48] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 65. For a more detailed discussion of the wide audience of these images, see Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteeth-Century British Travel Accounts* (London: Routledge, 2009).

would be expected to be presented as enslaved or, if not subject to imperialism, then as evidence of the need for imperial domination. The images in the *Album* are radically opposed to these conceptions of people of African descent. The *Album* shows a monarch, and attending royalty, that is not submissive but standing upright, face on, and magisterial. The implication in these images is that Haiti was not in need of the 'civilising mission', and should not be associated with the passivity of enslavement. Rather, Haiti had its own version of civilisation in which members of the black population were active in government and were agents of 'progress'.

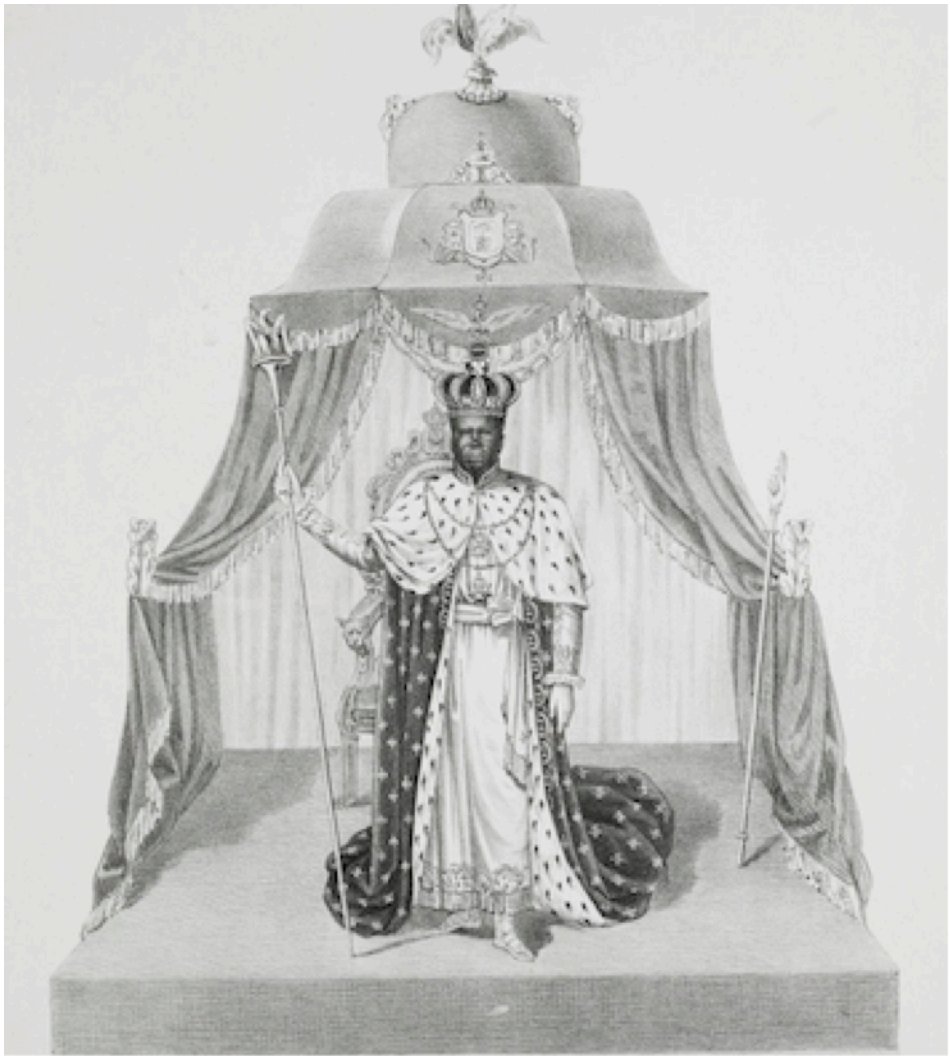

Figure 3: 'Faustin Soulouque', *Album Imperial d'Haïti*. Reprinted with the permission of the British Library.

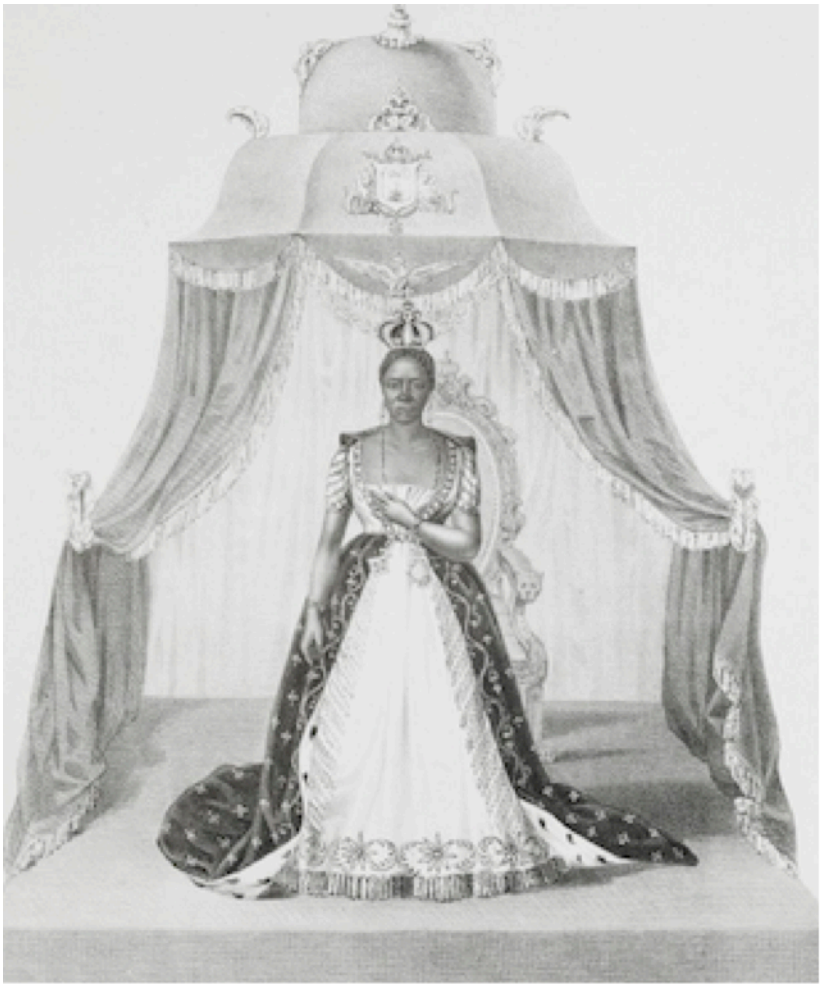

Figure 4: 'Adelina', *Imperial Album d'Haïti*. Reprinted with the permission of the British Library.

The corrective provided by Soulouque in the form of the *Album* can be considered as an example of 'counter-visuality', as Soulouque was attempting to change the Western perception of Haitian history. Nicholas Mirzoeff maintains in *The Right to Look* that there was an increasing belief in Britain, championed by Thomas Carlyle, that leadership was a heroic act, to be undertaken by a 'true' aristocracy of 'Great Men'.[49] This view was, Mirzoeff explains, deployed to support the notion of organising empire around centralised administration. Mirzoeff argues further: 'The contest of visuality and countervisuality is not… a simple battle for the same field. One sought to maintain the "colonial environment" as it was, the other to visualize a different reality, modern but decolonized.'[50] Considering this view, Soulouque's mimicry of Napoleon I recast his persona as that of a 'heroic' figure. In the same move, the images in the *Album* suggest that Haiti was not only decolonised but a parallel, even competing, empire.

Soulouque was not the first Haitian leader to export portraits of himself in the image of the hero. Christophe, Pétion and Dessalines commissioned portraits of themselves and circulated them around the Atlantic during their respective leaderships.[51] Indeed, Dessalines commissioned life-size portraits of himself with his troops.[52] The characterisations of both Mirzoeff and Aravamudan can be seen to intersect and support one another in an analysis of Haitian leaders exporting images across the Atlantic World. Indeed, Soulouque joined these other

[49] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
[50] Mirzoeff, p. 14.
[51] Mirzoeff, p. 104.
[52] Mirzoeff, p. 107.

'tropicopolitans' in taking on a European vocabulary of statehood to offer the notion of a thoroughly independent and sovereign Haitian state.

For the British press, Soulouque's attempt to assert the sincerity and legitimacy of the Haitian empire only served to emphasise the equivalency between Haiti and France. Such an equation was accentuated following the coronation of Louis Napoleon. The *Morning Chronicle* opined:

> When Napoleon made himself absolute master of France, his example was followed by Dessalines, the dictator of Hayti. But in our time the barbarous nation set the example — Soulouque declared himself Emperor of Domingo; and it was not until that vigorous step had been taken by the coal black Sovereign of Hayti, that Louis Napoleon ventured to make his attempt.[53]

There is an implication here that, historically, French forms of government that were introduced into Haiti had led to a despotic form of rule in its former colony. Haiti is, then, used by the reporter as a barometer against which to test the quality of French rule, and to assess the legacy of French involvement in the Caribbean.

As the heads of state of France and Haiti crowned themselves, British commentators thus increasingly assessed the perceived condition of the Haitian government as a parody of its French counterpart. In these representations, then, there is a case of double othering: Britain is distinguished from Haitian

[53] [Anonymous], 'The Imperial Precedents', *Morning Chronicle*, 29 November 1852, p. 4.

'barbarity', as well as from the anarchy of the French state. The *ILN* was consistent with this pattern in its portrayal of Haiti and Soulouque. The second coronation of Soulouque and, indeed, its accompanying *Album*, were interpreted in the *ILN* not as a demonstration of authentic government but as a further means for assessing the failure of French colonial rule. As we will see in the next section, they provide an example of how the Haitian voice was silenced in the process of construing narratives of British superiority.

Ignoring the Haitian Voice: Haiti, France and Hybridity

Two of the portraits from the *Album* provided the basis for a sketch of Soulouque and Adelina that appeared in the *ILN* in February 1856 (Figure 5). The images of the Emperor and Empress appear to copy the state dress of the images in the *Album* almost exactly. The full body portraits, of the Emperor and Empress facing head on, also suggests that the artist was basing their image on those in the *Album*. There is one significant difference between the portraits in the *Album* and those in the *ILN* in that the faces of Soulouque and Adelina were altered to appear more 'European'. This alteration is explained in the article that accompanies the image. The author relates that '[t]he Emperor is a thorough "coal black" but his nose and lips are more European than his colour might lead to expect.'[54]

As the discussion above outlines (pp. 68–69), blackness was, in the 1850s, often associated with enslaved peoples, and with those perceived as beseeching imperial domination. Although visualised as a powerful monarch, Soulouque's

[54] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.

power is undermined as the image involves markers of subservience. The image is, then, self-contradictory as Soulouque and Adelina have a degree of agency as both monarchs are in their imperial dress and confront the viewer face on, and yet they are described as 'coal black'. Indeed, Soulouque's 'Europeaness' (evidenced through his facial features) draws comment from the author of the article. Yet, this does not mean that Soulouque should be considered as European. The *ILN*'s artist does not opt to whiten the Haitian emperor and empress, a practice performed by other British illustrators when depicting 'black' characters that displayed agency.[55] The yoking together of European features with those of the colonial 'other' was commonly understood in Victorian Britain as the consequences of 'miscegenation', being the act of 'inter-racial' sex and reproduction. As I argue below, presenting Soulouque as the results of miscegenation, as a 'racial hybrid' fundamentally alters the significance of the image of the emperor so that he is no longer an example of Haitian sovereignty, but used as evidence of colonial failure.

[55] See, for instance, Wood's discussion of the illustrations that accompany *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Wood, p. 152.

Figure 5: 'His Imperial Majesty Faustin, Emperor of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 16 February 1856, p.186. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

Ann Laura Stoler contends that British bourgeois morality, in the mid-nineteenth century, was in part defined by the middle classes in opposition to the perceived degenerative effects of the colonies.[56] For the Victorian middle classes, Stoler explains, imperialism may have produced a consensus regarding European superiority but it also raised questions about the degeneracy of European populations in the colonies:

> The 'civilizing mission' of the nineteenth century was a bourgeois impulse directed not only at the colonized as often assumed but at recalcitrant and ambiguous participants in imperial culture at home and abroad.[57]

[56] Stoler.
[57] Stoler, pp. 108–09.

For Stoler, the ideal of bourgeois morality was, then, based not only on defining that morality against 'lower classes' in the national context, but also against the degenerative effects of contact made through colonialism. Robert Young, in *Colonial Desire*, argues that the most potent metaphor for contact within empire was that of sex, that resulted in 'hybrid peoples'.[58] Such peoples 'were seen to embody threatening forms of perversion and degeneration and became the basis for endless metaphoric extension in the racial discourse of social commentary.'[59] The existence of racially hybrid bodies, Young maintains further, provided evidence of an inept condition of colonialism, a lapse of bourgeois morality that resulted in miscegenation:

> anxiety about hybridity reflected the desire to keep races separate, which meant that attention was immediately focussed on the mixed race offspring that resulted from inter-racial sexual intercourse, the proliferating embodied, living legacies that abrupt, casual, often coerced, unions had left behind.[60]

The hybrid body thus became evidence of a societal problem. For the Victorian racial scientist Robert Knox (1851), those of 'mixed race' would, over generations, cease to exist as a social group due to their infertility when attempting to reproduce with one another:

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[58] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[59] Young, p. 5.
[60] Young, p. 25.

> The hybrid will gradually lose its peculiar moral and physical nature, compounded of those of its primitive parents, some of the offspring reverting to one species, others to the other. Ancient monuments do not seem to show that such hybrids ever existed.[61]

The hybrid, therefore, embodied anxieties not only of biological but also of social degeneration. Miscegenation was commonly perceived as an undesirable practice that threatened to contaminate the purity of the 'white' colonial order. Soulouque's hybridity thus offers evidence of a European colonialism in Haiti that failed to police the sexual borders between colonisers and colonised. The image offers a view of the social consequences of miscegenation, of a ruler that is both European and yet black. That such a consequence is not only presented a generic failure of imperialism but that of France is made more explicit in the article that adjoined the picture. The journalist here describes Haiti's propensity for revolutions and chaotic government as inherited from its old metropole. Taken in tandem, the image and the article provide a critique of the social consequences of a specifically French form of miscegenation that results in revolutionary chaos.

In the article, entitled 'His Imperial Majesty', the *ILN* claims that the inspiration behind the coronation in Haiti was Soulouque's determination to 'follow in the steps of the great Napoleon (I).'[62] The article then relates

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[61] Robert Knox, *The Races of Men: A Philosophical Enquiry into the Influence of Race Over the Destinies of Nations*, 2nd edn (London: Henry Renshaw, 1850), p. 491.
[62] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.

Soulouque as a 'brother' of Napoleon III, suggesting a shared ancestry in the figure of Napoleon I: '[Soulouque] is, like his brother Emperor of France, a most perfect horseman… He is regarded as a man of considerable cunning, but moderate abilities, and of undoubted bravery.'[63] The language of family in the article, then, like the hybridised image of the Haitian royalty, ties Soulouque to a French ancestry. The consequences of colonial misrule — understood through the act of miscegenation — are apparent in the description of Soulouque as well as the visual representation. Haitian history is thus construed as a means of understanding the failures of French imperialism to regulate properly its empire.

The critique of French forms of government offered in 'His Imperial Majesty' fits into a context of Anglo-French rivalry. The *ILN* article explains Haiti's history through the narrative of revolution, in this case meaning the repetitious, violent, usurpation of the government. In Britain, the French Revolution of 1848 provided a powerful warning against French forms of government: the British reaction was 'one of horror and self-congratulation: horror at foreign foolishness, satisfaction with the comparative stability of domestic institutions.'[64] The perceived failure of French government became an object of study. Theoreticians of political science, such as John Stuart Mill, paid considerable attention to the question of why the French were in constant revolution.[65] In the light of this, conceiving of Haitian rule as a consequence of its previous colonial rulers, indicates that the images of Soulouque were not only a

[63] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.
[64] Peter Mandler, '"Race" and "Nation" in Mid-Victorian Thought', in *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750–1950*, ed. by Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 224–44 (p. 229).
[65] Georgios Varouxakis, *Mill on Nationality* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 25 and p. 30.

warning against French methods of imperialism but also a means of understanding the superiority of British colonial institutions; or, as an analysis of the article demonstrates, the championing of British reformism as contrasted against French revolutionism.

The article opens with a description of the country's geographical position before providing a history of Haiti. At this point in the nineteenth century, history was not a professionalised discipline. Instead, history was 'part of that general mass of things that every gentleman should know.'[66] Histories were incorporated into a range of formats, such as pamphlets, travel narratives, periodicals, and newspapers, reaching an expanding audience of informed readers. Howsam's proposition that history was predominantly consumed by 'gentlemen amateurs' is congruent with the readership of the *ILN*. The history provided in the article is thus devoid of the scholarly aspect of the discipline of History that emerged later in the century. Instead, this history fits into the theme of 'curiosity', as outlined above. Nigel Leask demonstrates the importance of history as an intellectual pursuit in travel narratives as British travellers consistently 'temporalised' the lands they visited.[67] They did this, Leask explains, by placing the subject peoples on the perceived scale of European history, between antiquity and modernity. Considering Leask's view, the history and the article more broadly, can be seen to cater to an interest in the wider world and its 'progress'.

[66] Leslie Howsam, *Past into Print: The Publishing of History in Britain, 1850–1950* (London: The British Library, 2009), p. 6.
[67] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 2.

Although the text ostensibly focuses on Haiti, the history provides a thesis on the consequences of colonial misrule. After detailing the colonisation of the island initially by Columbus and then by French 'buccaneers', the essayist relates

> [t]he colony was in a very prosperous condition and continued so till 1789, when the great French Revolution broke out. The population of St Domingo was divided into three classes — the whites, the people of colour, and the slaves. All the power and influence were concentrated in whites, who disdained any intercourse with the people of colour… When the French national Convention passed the memorable decree that all men were born equal, and entitled, therefore, to an equality of civil privileges, it became the signal for revolution in the island. While the whites and people of colour were at war, the black population suddenly rose in a body… putting to death all the whites who came in their way without distinction of age or sex.[68]

As recent histories of the Haitian Revolution have highlighted, the notion that it was caused by French Revolutionary ideals, such as the Rights of Man, was widespread as the conflict took place, despite being incorrect.[69] In this later context, the article portrays French imperialism as failing to police its subject

[68] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 185.
[69] See Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: the Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); John Thornton, '"I Am the Subject of the King of Congo:" African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution', *Journal of World History*, 4, 2 (1993), 181–214; Julius Scott, *The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication During the Haitian Revolution* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University 1986).

populations and French ideals as inspiring uprising, resulting in the violence of the Haitian Revolution. In the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution in France, the Haitian Revolution is, then, once again used to critique ideas of French Revolution. In particular, the article warns against French principles of democracy as decreeing civil equality between all peoples. The Haitian Revolution thus provides a warning about the dangers of introducing French revolutionary principles into the Caribbean colonies. The racialised tension between the 'white' population and 'people of colour' that existed was necessarily a consequence of the supposed corrupting influences of colonialism, perceived through the act of miscegenation. Bourgeois morality, to use Stoler's term, had thus been subject to degeneration in 'St Domingo'. French revolutionism appears to have aided in colonial mismanagement as suggested through 'racial mixing'.

Marlene Daut has recently argued that across the Atlantic World up until the American Civil War, the mixed-ethnicity population was consistently portrayed as the violent agitator in histories of the Haitian Revolution. Daut refers to this trope as the 'mulatto/a vengeance narrative', explaining '[t]his was a way of seeing whereby people of "mixed race" were narrated as the parricidal and innately violent agitators who had caused the Haitian Revolution due to the degradations and instabilities occasioned by their putative "racial hybridity."'[70] The history in the *ILN* is consistent with Daut's broader analysis of representations of people of mixed ethnicity in the nineteenth century, suggesting a belief in Victorian Britain that the mixed ethnicity population were

[70] Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), p. 4.

inherently antagonistic — indeed revolutionary — towards the European-governed colonial system.

There is, throughout the article, a suggestion that revolutionism was not only introduced by the French — both biologically and politically — during the Haitian Revolution, but that it then shaped the narrative of Haitian history up until the present of the article. Following the Haitian Revolution, the journalist writes, the island came under the control of Dessalines whose 'atrocities were such that he fell under the dagger of the assassin like many of the leaders of the Revolution in France.'[71] The succeeding presidents, according to the article, each succumbed to violent revolution:

> Christophe… seeing his case was hopeless fell upon his sword… Boyer… reigned till 1843. He was then overthrown, and driven from the island, by a revolution headed by Rivière, who succeeded him as President. After about four months, the Spanish part of the island revolted; he marched with an army to reduce it to subjection; and while on this expedition the other parts of the island revolted against him… A succession of presidents followed… [until] we find Soulouque, the present Emperor, elected President.[72]

The history is, then, 'emplotted' as revolutionary and cyclical.

As Hayden White argues, the way in which an historical narrative is emplotted allows the historian 'to reveal what was "really happening" in their

[71] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.
[72] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.

narratives, beneath or behind the stories they have been telling all along.'[73] Events are endowed with meaning by being identified as part of an integrated whole.[74] In 'His Imperial Majesty', each president, or leader, is overthrown by a revolution, creating a new leader who, in turn, succumbs to another revolution.[75] After detailing the reign of Soulouque, this history is put to use to understand the future of Haiti, consolidating the notion that Haitian society was conditioned by a revolutionary repetition: Soulouque 'has no male issue; and his death will be the signal for a new revolution.'[76]

The Haitian Revolution thus acts as an originary moment in this narrative — not of Haitian independence or the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean — but as the entrance, and then perpetuity, of French revolutionary practices. Haitian history was thus used to consider the dangers of democracy and absolutism in both the domestic and colonial space whereas Haitian remonstrations of independence are ignored. Notions of British government and imperialism, as being reformist, measured, and controlled, were thus privileged over their European rivals. The idea that Britain's place, in both Europe and the world, was at the vanguard of progress, is thus reified.

Soulouque was dethroned, and retired to Jamaica, in 1859. The *ILN* subsequently provided a report on his successor, Fabre Geffrard. This article contrasts to 'His Imperial Majesty' as it involves a narrative of progressive reformism in Haiti rather than one of revolution. The paper related: 'Already,

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[73] Hayden White, 'The Structure of Historical Narrative', in *The Fiction of Narrative*, ed. by Doran, pp. 112–25 (p. 124).
[74] White, *The Content of Form*, p. 8.
[75] This view of French history was shared by such writers as Thomas Carlyle. See *The French Revolution: A History* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837).
[76] 'His Imperial Majesty', p. 186.

from the acts of his [Geffrard's] Government, there is reason to anticipate the complete development in Hayti of intelligent liberty and progress, based upon a due respect for individual freedom in all civil and religious rights.'[77] As opposed to the government of Soulouque, Geffrard allowed free trade with Britain, and was more willing to work with the British government.[78] The fall of Soulouque and introduction of a republic that was favourable to British business, and political aims, here cued the end of a despotism to be replaced by a 'progressive' state. Although Geffrard's form of liberal democracy was not an exact copy of the constitutional monarchy of Britain, Haiti was no longer represented as so closely under the French sphere of influence. Haitian history was thus recast as the triumph of a form of liberal democracy under the perceived influence of Britain.

Haiti could be used to understand not only French but also British forms of rule. Debates over what constituted the correct, British, type of colonial rule were ongoing throughout the 1850s. The debate oscillated between increasing centralised control on the one hand and extending liberal principles on the other.[79] As we will see, Haiti came to be deployed on both sides of this debate to shore up the respective argument. Detailing this discursive context reveals that the image of Soulouque could be interpreted to suggest either a lack of centralised colonial rule, or, as I explore in the following section, an absence of sufficient Christianisation. The image of Soulouque could, then, be understood in relation to broader questions of imperialism that were not only tied to

[77] [Anonymous], 'General Fabre Geffrard, President of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 19 October 1859, p. 417.
[78] See David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[79] Michael Goldberg, 'Liberalism's Limits: Carlyle and Mill on "the negro question"', *Nineteenth–Century Contexts*, 22, 2 (2000), 203–16 (pp. 203–04).

comparisons with France. What is consistent in this further context of ideas about Haiti is that Haitians, and the universalism of Haitian history, were ignored as Haiti was deployed in the construction of the relative argument.

Haiti and Ideas About British Colonial Rule

A key advocate for increasing the authority of 'Great Men' in colonial government was Thomas Carlyle. In a lament against liberal forms of government and colonial rule, Carlyle pointed to Haiti as a warning against loosening colonial control. Some 'races', he argued were born as servile to others. As Ian Campbell summarises Carlyle's thesis, '[r]ule is a fact coeval with creation.'[80] This notion was widely publicised in Carlyle's polemical article, published as a pamphlet, 'On the Negro Question'.[81] In the context of increasing expenditure on Jamaica, Carlyle lamented the supposed lack of work being undertaken by the black population. If the black population would not work, he argued, they must be made to do so, by force if necessary, for 'idleness does, in all cases, inevitably

[80] Ian Campbell, 'Carlyle and the Negro Question Again', *Criticism*, 13 (1971), 279–90 (p. 283).

[81] Thomas Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine*, 40 (1849), pp. 670–79. This became a pamphlet under the title 'Occasional Discourse On the Nigger Question' in 1853. Thomas Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question' (London, 1853) in *The Collected Works of Thomas Carlyle* ed. by Thomas Carlyle (London: Chapham and Hall, 1864), pp. 1–28. For an introduction to these tracts see Ian Campbell, 'Carlyle and the Negro Question'. For the debate between Carlyle and John Stuart Mill initiated by the pamphlets see Goldberg, 'Liberalism's Limits'; Catherine Hall, 'The Economy of Intellectual Prestige: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and the Case of Governor Eyre', *Cultural Critique*, 12 (1989), 167–96; and Varouxakis, *Mill on Nationality*. On Carlyle's views on slavery and economics see Peter Groenewegen, 'Thomas Carlyle, "The Dismal Science", and the Contemporary Political Economy of Slavery', *History of Economics Review*, 34, 1 (2001), 71–91; and David Levy, *How the Dismal Science Got its Name: Classical Economics and Ur-Text of Racial Politics* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001). For Carlyle's views on race see J. Salwyn Schapiro, 'Thomas Carlyle, Prophet of Fascism', *The Journal of Modern History*, 17, 2 (1945), 97–115.

rot.'[82] Only through this work, for Carlyle, in 'bring[ing] out the spices', could this population achieve some sort of moral equality with the European population.[83] In this tirade, the warning of Haiti provided an example of an alternative reality to that of strong colonial government:

> Alas let him [the black population] look across to Haiti and trace a far sterner prophecy! Let him, by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all White men from the West Indies and make it all one Haiti — with little or no sugar growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul… nothing but a tropical dog kennel and pestiferous jungle.[84]

Carlyle thus mobilised the perceived history and contemporary condition of Haiti as a potent warning for the condition of British colonial rule. If centralised control was not enhanced over the Caribbean, then the region risked descending into the cycle of revolution of racial conflict that supposedly characterised Haiti. The image of Soulouque in the *ILN* played into this debate as it potentially demonstrated the perceived consequences of failing to impose appropriate colonial rule. Soulouque's portrayal of himself in the style of Napoleon I, Carlyle's archetypal 'great man', was interpreted by the *ILN* not as an example of great leadership but conversely, as a demonstration of the consequences of a French inability to control its colonial possessions.[85]

[82] Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question', p. 7.
[83] Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', p. 675.
[84] Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question', p. 22.
[85] For the Carlylean hero see Mirzoeff, p. 13.

Carlyle remonstrated against the views of Liberals, missionaries and abolitionists, a collective that Carlyle simply referred to as 'Exeter Hall', due to this site being their common meeting place.[86] For Carlyle, his adversaries proposed a naïve and dangerous form of government: 'My philanthropic friends, can you discern no fixed headlands in this wide-weltering deluge of benevolent twaddle and revolutionary grape-shot that has burst forth on us?'[87] The spectre of French revolution here strengthens Carlyle's argument against the idea of a more liberal and philanthropic version of colonial rule.[88] In abolitionist and missionary literature, however, Haiti was not necessarily considered a warning against the democratisation of colonial rule. The image of Soulouque in the *ILN*, as I illustrate below, could also be understood to aid this side of the argument.

In 1853, the Unitarian Minister and abolitionist, John Relly Beard published *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture*.[89] Focusing on the exploits of Louverture during the Haitian Revolution, Beard stated that his purpose for his book was to provide a warning for the planters of the United States of the potential destruction wrought by non-Christian people in bondage.[90] In this process, Louverture acts as an exception to the black population, highlighting the supposed potential of enslaved peoples once 'civilised' by Christianity: 'the slave is a slave no more; in becoming a Christian, he has become a man; and your

[86] Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question', p. 2.
[87] Carlyle, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', p. 674.
[88] Rather than the French Revolution, I am referring to the fear of a more abstract, supposedly inherent, tendency for revolution in France.
[89] John Relly Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti: Comprising of an Account of the Struggles for Liberty in the Island and a Sketch of its History to the Present Period* (London: Ingram, Cooke, 1853; repr. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970).
[90] Beard, 'Preface'.

relation as well as his is changed; no more master as he is no more slave.'[91] Rather than either the autocratic rule of a slave society, or that of the colonial rule proffered by Carlyle, Beard argues for the need to Christianise the Caribbean in order to create a population of 'equal men'. Richard Huzzey contends that anti-slavery ethos was key in conceptions of the British empire: 'Throughout Victoria's reign there was persistent difficulty in agreeing what it meant to be the first anti-slavery empire. However…, anti-slavery shaped the moral and material interests of the globe's first modern super power.'[92] Considering this argument, Beard's thesis can be considered not only as a commentary on enslavement in the United States, but also to suggest extending Christian and abolitionist doctrine within the British empire.

Beard casts Haitian history as an example of the virtues of Christianisation, rather than centralised colonial control and strict regulation of the population. Louverture's exceptional piety translates into an extraordinary understanding of government. In particular, Beard claims that Louverture landed 'on the rock of constitutional government.'[93] However, the exceptionality of Louverture highlights the non-piety and inability of the remaining Haitian population. As Charles Forsdick maintains in regards to earlier nineteenth-century representations, Louverture embodied the successful elements of a Revolution that ultimately led to the failure of Haitian independence.[94] Forsdick's

[91] Beard, p. 49.
[92] Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (London: Cornell University Press, 2012), p. 20.
[93] Beard, p. 142.
[94] Charles Forsdick, 'Arguing Around Toussaint: The Revolutionary in a Postcolonial Frame', in *Echoes of the Haitian Revolution* ed. by Martin Munro and Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2008), pp. 41–60 (p. 55).

argument holds true for Beard's disquisition as the abolitionist contrasts Louverture's rule against the imperial governments of his successors: 'Instead of troubling himself and others in arrangement for placing on his head the bauble of a crown, Toussaint L'Ouverture [*sic*] turned his attention to the condition of the country.'[95] Beard further makes this contrast clear in his assessment of Soulouque:

> In Soulouque the inferior element of Haytian life has its representative and its encouragement. Grossly ignorant, he is also absurdly superstitious. His vanity exceeds all bounds, and led him in the year 1849 to assume the title of Emperor. In this silly step he took for his model Napoleon Bonaparte, according to whose court and camp Soulouque formed his own… let not the folly be imputed to the hue of Soulouque's skin. If Hayti has its emperor, that sovereign borrowed the idea from France.[96]

The Haitian government of Beard's day was portrayed as lacking the appropriate Christianisation necessary for proper rule. Considering Beard's thesis, the image of Soulouque in the *ILN* could serve to demonstrate the effects of a lack of sufficient Christianisation in Haiti. Whereas Carlyle argued that Haiti provided evidence of the need for stricter control in and over the colonies, Beard read Haitian history as evidence of the need for further Christianisation amongst

[95] Beard, p. 129.
[96] Beard, p. 316.

black populations. For these different reasons, both Beard and Carlyle argued that French modes of imperialism were to be avoided.

Beard was joined in the view that empire should be a vehicle for Christianisation by the author of *A Glimpse at Hayti and Her Negro Chief* (1850), identified by Kate Hodgson as being the missionary Charles Morton Birrell.[97] Anna Johnston argues that missionaries routinely represented potential colonial sites as places 'where the "revolting reality" of heathenism could be witnessed.'[98] Such places were, Johnston argues further, contrasted against the aims of missionary work that not only had 'saving souls' as its object but also that of securing 'the essential rights and liberties of mankind.'[99] In other words, missionaries emphasised the need to extend the civilising mission around the globe. For Birrell, the Haitian Revolution was an originary moment that resulted in widespread 'Paganism' and bloodshed in Haiti: 'The circumstance of the emancipation of those tribes having been achieved by bloodshed, has inconceivably aggravated their previous disadvantages. It has cast a disastrous shadow over all their history.'[100] Birrell argues that it is not only Christianity that Haiti is in need of, but a British Protestantism:

> It is to England in particular that the Haytians look for… moral assistance. France they regard with natural disgust… America… they view, for

[97] Charles Morton Birrell, *A Glimpse at Hayti and Her Negro Chief* (Liverpool: [n. pub.] 1850). I extend my thanks to Kate Hodgson for providing this information.
[98] Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 1.
[99] Johnston, p. 2.
[100] Birrell, p. 116.

> reasons easily traceable in their history, with emotions still more unfriendly.[101]

Carlyle, Beard and Birrell all mobilise Haiti as a warning of a misguided type of imperialism, consolidating the notion that Haiti's post-colonial failure was the consequence of France's colonial malpractice. For Birrell, the British empire is exceptionally placed to address these perceived failures. Inserted into this debate, then, the *ILN*'s portrayal of Soulouque could be interpreted as evidence of the results of insufficient autocracy or as a demonstration of a lack of 'benevolent' Christianisation. The sketch of Soulouque had implications for assessing the failures of French imperialism, but its significance for conceptions of the British empire was by no means singular. As this section illustrates, readers of the *ILN* could clearly draw other conclusions from the image and its relation to empire. Such an analysis highlights the various, and yet consistent, ways in which Haiti was deployed in debates over colonial governance. Although Haiti was instrumentalised to make different political arguments, it was repeatedly used as a warning against certain types of colonial government.

Conclusion

In both the press and debates regarding the appropriate form of British imperialism, assessments of Haiti were, then, deployed to warn against French forms of government and empire. After returning from Haiti, an anonymous missionary related a story that had appeared across the British press, including

[101] Birrell, p. 128.

the *ILN*, the previous year (1850). The story, entitled 'A Royal Marriage in Hayti', concerned the matrimony between the parents of the Empress Adelina, and a funeral service for the parents of Soulouque. It mentions that a French ship, the *Naïade*, was present during the funeral: the *Naïade* 'had its colours half-mast high and fired a number of guns, which singularly flattered the vanity of the blacks.'[102] Following these services, Soulouque, 'accompanied only by some persons believing in... the Vaudoux', ventured on to conduct a ceremony in which Soulouque supposedly conversed with the spirits of his parents.[103] Soulouque, the report continues, sacrificed a cock, a sheep and a kid before the emperor drank their blood. The article concludes:

> This poor country of Hayti is marching rapidly towards barbarism. How can one be astonished at it when the head of the state is seen to revive the religious ceremonies of Congo and Guinea.[104]

For Victorian Britons, the correct mode of governing of an empire was to be done in accordance with Protestant doctrine.[105] In 'A Royal Marriage in Hayti', Soulouque's empire was represented as not only devoid of this consecration but

[102] [Anonymous], 'A Royal Marriage in Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 20 April 1850, p. 275.
[103] 'A Royal Marriage in Hayti', p. 275.
[104] 'A Royal Marriage in Hayti', p. 275.
[105] David Alderson, 'An Anatomy of the British Polity: Alton Locke and Christian Manliness', in *Victorian Identities: Social and Cultural Formations in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, ed. by Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), pp. 43–61. [105] See also, David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How Britain Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Cannadine argues that the political order of the British monarchy, and its empire, mirrored structurally mirrored the divine order.

was perceived to be organised around its antithesis, being an 'uncivilised' fetishism.

'Vaudoux' became, as Kate Ramsey maintains, an ever-more prevalent strategy of denigration in the mid-nineteenth century. Ramsey argues that 'increasingly, the proof of Haiti's lapse into barbarism had a specific, subsuming name, *vaudoux*, under which the entirety of Haitian "fetishism," "sorcery," and "black magic" was consolidated.'[106] The degeneration of the Haitian government, towards a condition of 'barbarity', was thus perceived through Soulouque's affiliation with 'vaudoux'.

As the retelling of this story by the missionary demonstrates, the denigration of Haiti in the press could then be redeployed to assess French imperialism. The missionary makes one significant change to the narrative of Soulouque's ceremony found in the press. The timing of the French presence is altered and given particular emphasis:

> Not the least significant part of [the Vaudoux ceremony] was the fact that a French ship of war, accompanying his Excellency from Port-au-Prince, fired a salute in honour of the occasion, in the harbour of Gonaives.[107]

[106] Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 80.
[107] [Anonymous], 'Hispaniola, Hayti, Saint Domingo', (Unpublished), p. 54.

The missionary represents the French as condoning and encouraging practices of Vaudoux in Haiti. The narrative concludes: 'Then came the grand denouement – the Establishment of the Empire.'[108]

In implicating France in this process, the missionary is misrepresenting and critiquing French involvement in Haiti through the narrative of the Vaudoux ceremony. This critique of France's relationship with Haiti is consistent with the broader argument of the pamphlet. The author laments that

> it is not from France that Hayti must look for its political regeneration. It must never again come within the sphere of the influence of that power… The antipathy of the Blacks to French domination is unconquerable. To this day their traditions teem with nothing but French cruelty.[109]

For this author, France had provided Haiti with a heritage of inappropriate political institutions, culminating in Soulouque's turn to Vaudoux. Although I cannot discern which newspaper, exactly, the missionary gleaned the story from, it seems that ideas about Haiti thus moved between discursive contexts within Britain. In this circulation, Haiti continued to provide an opportunity to critique French imperialism.

An analysis of representations of Soulouque in the *ILN* reveals one way in which ideas about Haiti were construed in Britain while the Haitian voice was subject to silencing. Trouillot argues, as I outline in the Introduction of this thesis, that the universalism of the Haitian Revolution was unthinkable for this

[108] 'Hispaniola', p. 54.
[109] 'Hispaniola', p. 10.

radicalism and thus silenced in the West. Soulouque's assertions of Haitian independence took place in a very different historical context to that of the Haitian Revolution as they were interpreted within British imperial discourse. The *Imperial Album*, for instance, was not making the claims of universal emancipation that were involved in the Revolution. Instead, Soulouque's remonstrations were subject to a different form of silencing that nevertheless involved a lack of recognition for Haiti's post-colonial status. Ideas about Haiti in Britain that equated Haiti with French imperialism ironically denied the sovereignty of the Haitian empire. The contest to assert the recognition of Haitian independence, therefore, continued into the nineteenth century.

As I further develop in Chapter Two, this type of privileging of certain versions of Haiti over others was supported by a certain notion of 'expertise'. For ideas about Haiti to be perceived as truthful, they needed a degree of credibility. The authority that the *ILN* claimed to assert regarding such versions of Haiti was in large part aided by its illustrations. In the next chapter, I demonstrate the significance of the burgeoning 'science' of anthropology in asserting definitions of Haiti. There was, as we will see, a clear link between the *ILN* and this group of scientists as the anthropologists published their work in the newspaper and explicitly referenced its articles in their papers. The *ILN* and racial scientists complemented one another in their constructions of knowledge. In both cases, such claims to truth in representations of Haiti resulted in the silencing of Haitian knowledge. In the process of generating and confirming narratives about British exceptionalism, ideas about Haiti were given authority through certain means of credentialisation. Haitians were seen to lack such credibility.

Chapter Two

'A Second Hayti:' Ideas about Haiti and the Morant Bay War

Introduction

Chapter One explores the importance of 'expertise' and 'objectivity' in promoting certain perceptions of Haiti and their relevance for empire. In this Chapter, I further interrogate the relationship between the notion of 'expertise' and colonial practice in Britain in the Victorian period. This chapter explores British ideas about Haiti in reference to the Morant Bay War (Jamaica, 1865). My analysis focuses on the links between anthropologists, colonial administrators and parliamentarians. I demonstrate that ideas about Haiti construed in anthropological societies influenced the actions of Edward Eyre, the governor of Jamaica, and member of the Anthropological Society of London (ASL), as well as the parliamentary and public debates that followed the War. In arguing this point, the chapter begins by examining the way in which Haiti was deployed during the Morant Bay War by Eyre. I then turn to analyse the significance of the membership of the ASL and the Ethnological Society of London (ESL). An analysis of this data indicates that these societies acted as forums in which politicians and diplomats could potentially meet with scientists to discuss the condition of foreign peoples and places. This leads me onto an interrogation of the methods of synthesis and comparison that anthropologists used to devise ideas about 'others.' Through this method, they reduced the 'characters' of perceived groups of people into hierarchised racial categories. Haiti posed a particular problem in the formulation of such categories as both the Haitian Revolution and contemporary events in and around Haiti seemed to challenge

the notion of racial inferiority. Rather than recognising such a challenge, anthropologists relegated the political significance of these events to fit with notions of inherent racial difference. Although at least one anthropologist suggested that the events of the Haitian revolution proved a racial equality, such a proposition was immediately contradicted, and thereby silenced, by fellow anthropologists. In the final section, I examine how Haiti, having come to suggest a precedent for violent racial conflict, became a particularly powerful warning as it was deployed in ensuing political discussions regarding the Morant Bay War.[1]

To understand how Haiti was mobilised in this debate, it is necessary to look at the broader networks to which parliamentarians and diplomats belonged, and the circulation of ideas about Haiti within these networks. In particular, I consider the movement of ideas within and between diplomatic circles such as parliament and learned societies, such as the ASL and the Ethnological Society of London (ESL). It is possible to examine how ideas about Haiti moved between scientific and political spheres, by employing and

[1] I use the term 'War', rather than 'rebellion' in the light of Clinton Hutton's research on terminology regarding the conflict. In a paper presented at the conference 'The Terror Spread: The Morant Bay Rebellion and Jamaican History', Hutton argued that whereas the imperial bureaucracy, and press, used the word 'rebellion' to describe the conflict, the protestors preferred the term 'war'. Defining the conflict as a 'rebellion', Hutton explains, aided the colonial authorities to erase the political significance of the conflict, considering it as a 'war' emphasises the notion of two opposing sides with relative political perspectives. Such a technique of ignoring the political significance of conflicts in empire finds comparison in British-Victorian treatments of the Indian War of Independence (1857) as is demonstrated in Biswamoy Pati's work. See Clinton Hutton, 'The Press and the Morant Bay Rebellion', conference proceedings, 'The Terror Spread: The Morant Bay Rebellion and Jamaican History', University of West Indies Mona, 23 October 2015; *Colour for Colour, Skin for Skin: Marching with the Ancestors into War Oh at Morant Bay* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2015), pp. xiii–xiv. Biswamoy Pati, 'Introduction: The Great Rebellion of 1857', in *The Great Rebellion of 1857 in India: Exploring Transgressions, Contests and Diversities*, ed. by Biswamoy Pati (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 1–15 (p. 1). Devon Dick concurs on the appropriateness of the term 'war.' See 'The Role of the Maroons in the 1865 Freedom War at Morant Bay', *International Journal of Public Theology*, 7, 4 (2013), 444–57.

interrogating Robert Darnton's influential notion of the 'communication network'.[2] Darnton conceived of the communication network with reference to the circulation of knowledge in the eighteenth century by building on his previous theory of the 'communication circuit' in which ideas move from the author, to the publisher, reader and back to the author.[3] The communication *network* is an adaptation of this model, but applied to oral communication rather than the written text. Darnton finds that, in the context of eighteenth-century Paris, seditious messages were transmitted 'by means of memorialisation, handwritten notes, and recitations at nodal points in the network of friends.'[4] Following on from this, I contend that ideas about Haiti circulated between anthropological societies and parliament through such communication networks.

Moreover, I argue in this chapter that the ideas about Haiti that circulated within the network of anthropologists, politicians, and diplomats became increasingly prevalent in the popular sphere, or the broader British population. As the debate over Morant Bay expanded in the popular sphere, understandings of Haiti as racially antagonistic and in violent opposition to empire proliferated. My use of the communication network develops that of Darnton as I not only analyse the network itself, but also its significance for circulating ideas about Haiti to other discursive contexts in Victorian society. Anthropologists were particularly significant for developing certain definitions of 'foreign' places and people. As information, through such media as government reports, travel

[2] Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
[3] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111, 3 (1982), 65–83.
[4] Darnton, *Poetry and the Police*, p. 21.

narratives and newspaper articles, became available to these 'scientists,' they synthesised it into the 'Science of Man.' This discourse became increasingly significant for the imperial authorities as the British empire expanded in the second half of the nineteenth century. Politicians, diplomats and 'scientists' informed one another of their views and findings to create an exclusive network of knowledge, in this case relating to Jamaica and Haiti.

The perceived 'expert' origins of this knowledge means that its related ideas about Haiti were perceived to have a distinguished credibility. Ideas about Haiti as being racially antagonistic were developed within the closed network of experts. Alternative versions of Haiti, in particular those proposed by Haitians, were ignored within this network and perceived as lacking the necessary expertise. The production of 'scientific' knowledge, then, helped to privilege certain versions of Haiti, which served to rationalise British imperial rule, to the detriment of competing knowledges.

Ideas about Haiti in the Morant Bay War

In October 1865, between 300 and 500 people attacked the local Court House in Morant Bay Jamaica, killing eighteen people and losing seven of their own number.[5] In the months prior to the War, there had been a drought and a recession. As one arrested suspect remarked, 'I would be quiet if the Government would… give me any employment so as to keep myself and family from

[5] Gillian Workman, 'Thomas Carlyle and the Governor Eyre Controversy: An Account with Some New Material', *Victorian Studies*, 18 (1974), 77–102 (pp. 78–79). For a broader discussion of the Morant Bay War see Gad Heuman, *'The Killing Time': The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1994).

starvation.'[6] Although under the condition of 'emancipation', the rebels had little control over the terms of this condition. Without political representation, people in Jamaica demanded change through violence. The response of Edward Eyre was to refute the claims of the protestors, immediately perceiving the conflict in racial terms. He installed thirty days of martial law around Morant Bay, killing 439 people, with or without trial, flogging a further 600 and burning over 1,000 homes.[7] In defence of his actions, Eyre and his supporters in Britain mobilised the warning of Haiti.

As his first despatch concerning the War to Secretary of State for the Colonies, Edward Cardwell, illustrates, Eyre was quick to racialise the conflict: '[t]hey caught and ill-treated three of the policemen… administering to them an oath upon the Bible… binding them to desert the whites and join their (that is black) party.'[8] He framed the threat of the conflict to the 'white' population through the warning of Haitian history, commenting:

> [they make] statements calling their attention to their numerical strength as compared with the white population, and of holding up to their view the results accomplished by the black race in the neighbouring republics of Hayti and St. Domingo.[9]

[6] Police Inspector Mr Nairn to the Custos of Kingston, 29 September 1865, FO 35/68. No. 23 in Inclosure 5.
[7] Workman, pp. 78–79.
[8] Edward Eyre to Edward Cardwell, 20 October 1865, in 'Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Jamaica' (London: 1866), p. 1.
[9] Eyre to Cardwell, 'Copy of a Despatch from Governor Eyre to Cardwell', January 1866, in 'Jamaica Disturbances. Papers Laid Before the Royal Commission of Inquiry by Governor Eyre' (London, 1866), p. 18.

As a 'post-colonial' state, the Haitian government was administered by people of African descent. In the Jamaican context, where the officialdom was made up of white, British, people, this difference could be considered as a symbolic threat to the colonial order. Haiti here suggested a 'black' independence following the violent removal of the British colonial population. In highlighting the conflict as racial, Eyre did not only emphasise it as a threat to the lives of the white population, but relegated the political motivations of the people involved by citing their inspiration as being to achieve an equivalent political system to that found in Haiti. The importance of Haiti was in providing an historical precedent of racial conflict, so that Eyre placed this War in a context of perceived Haitian history.[10]

Haiti was cited by Eyre as shorthand to indicate the undesirable political motivations and overtly violent actions of his adversaries. In reporting back to the Foreign Office, he suggested that certain qualities of Haitian conflicts were repeated at Morant Bay. He explained to Cardwell that the protestors used 'pikes… similar to what the people of Hayti use as weapons.'[11] Historians Mimi Sheller and David Nicholls have detailed the use of pikes by soldiers in internal conflicts in Haiti throughout the 1840s, leading to the name *piquets*.[12] Yet, Haitian modes of warfare, in the context of a perceived racial conflict carried a

[10] The evidence of actual involvement of Haitians in the War is thin. As Matthew Smith maintains, 'the extent to which [Haitians] provided inspiration or support for the conspiracy remains unclear'. See, 'From the Port of Princes to the City of Kings: Jamaica and the Roots of the Haitian Diaspora', in *Geographies of the Haitian Diaspora* ed. by Regine O. Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 17–33 (p. 27).
[11] Eyre to Cardwell, 23 November 1865, in 'Papers Relating to the Disturbances', p. 179.
[12] David Nicholls, *Haiti in the Caribbean Context* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1985); Mimi Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery: Black Republics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

powerful warning. To make reference to Haitian history here was to present a narrative in which the colonial administration was to be decimated and replaced by 'black' subjects in government. In response, Eyre argued, it was necessary to administer violent reprisals to protect the British colony.

Many of the 'white' population in Jamaica shared in Eyre's deployment of Haiti to ensure the protection of the British. On hearing Eyre's suggestion that Jamaica should become a Crown Colony, handing full control over to Whitehall, the Jamaican House of Assembly replied that it was

> [d]eeply impressed with the full conviction that nothing but the existence of a strong Government can prevent this island from lapsing into the condition of a second Hayti, we shall cheerfully take into consideration any measures recommended by your Excellency.[13]

The natural consequence of the Morant Bay War, should it have been successful, are here assumed to have led to a 'second Hayti'. The complicated political motives of the rebels are here replaced by this assumption. Indeed, Eyre's supporters set about providing evidence for this claim. One Reverend Cooke wrote to an associate, on overhearing two men conversing:

> Their avowed object was to murder every white person, then the coloured races, which having accomplished, they were to have proclaimed

[13] Charles H. Jackson, 'Address of the House of Assembly to Governor Eyre, 8 November 1865, in 'Papers Relating to the Disturbances', p. 167.

> a republican form of government similar to that of Hayti… They complained of no political or other grievances.[14]

Eyre forwarded this letter to the British government, emphasising the notion that the protestors had no legitimate political grievance. The threat of a 'second Hayti', was used to justify his violent response to the protest . In particular, Eyre was requested by the British government to justify the execution of George William Gordon, a black political opponent of Eyre. The death of Gordon was illegal as he was taken from outside the area under Martial Law to be tried. Despite a lack of evidence, he was put to death. Gordon had, according to Eyre, acted as a trigger, inciting the black population to rise up, telling people to 'do as they had done in Hayti.'[15]

The Royal Commission that was sent to investigate the War, and its aftermath, duly inquired into whether Gordon had said this. One witness to events, Dr Bruce, was interrogated on whether Gordon had cited Haiti; on denying this, he was then asked of the significance of Haiti. He replied: 'It has no significance at all here — it means to cut white people's throats… It is that they are to kill all the white people.'[16] The meaning of Haiti in the aftermath of the Morant Bay War was to deny any legitimate political motivation in the cause of the rebels, instead emphasising the possibility of racial massacre. Eyre repeatedly mobilised the warning of Haiti to defend his reprisals to the British government. For Eyre, Haiti helped to justify his extra-legal actions. The

[14] S. H. Cooke to W. R. Mayers, 18 January 1866, 'Jamaica Disturbances', p. 189.
[15] Robert George Bruce to the Royal Commission, in 'Jamaica. Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission' (London, 1866), p. 729.
[16] Bruce to the Royal Commission, in 'Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission', p. 730.

argument that the example of Haiti provided evidence of the protestors at Morant Bay attempting to destroy the white population and install a 'black government' was accepted by some parts of the British government and colonial administration.

The Earl of Morley summarised the two opposing sides of the debate for the House of Lords:

> The colonists were under the impression that a race three times their number was preparing to destroy them en masse, and with the example of Hayti before their eyes, they might not unnaturally be induced to exaggerate their danger...[17]

The other case, Morley continued, more dominant in Britain, was that the 'whites' acted unfairly.[18] Morley deploys Haiti as shorthand without elaborating on its significance. This suggests that, in this context, the meaning of Haiti was monolithic in the sense that there was no need to differentiate its significance from competing versions of Haiti.

For Morley, at least, the warning provided by Haitian history, of the threat of extreme racial violence lay at the heart of Eyre's defence. He drew attention to the argument,-that the entire 'black' population of Jamaica represented a threat to the colonial authorities. To accuse each 'black' Jamaican as representing a threat to the white population suggested that parliamentarians understood Eyre's defence as operating within the context of potential racial annihilation.

[17] Earl of Morley, Lords Sitting, 6 February 1866, House of Lords Hansard.
[18] Earl of Morley.

The 'example of Hayti' only became relevant when the War was conceived in racial terms.

Faced with the argument of Haiti on the one hand, and of British constitutional law on the other, the British government decided not to prosecute Eyre, but to remove him from his post. Ultimately, the Earl of Carnarvon, who took over office from Cardwell as Secretary of State for the Colonies in August 1866 had the final say. Though he denied the legality of Gordon's execution as well as the treatment of many other subjects he argued,

> [n]o man who has at all looked into the circumstances of the case can doubt the very grave necessity which rested upon those in authority to adopt the most vigorous measures to repress the disorders… Whatever offence Mr. Eyre has committed, murder is certainly not the offence that can be charged against him, and I believe such a charge would be utterly repugnant to the common sense of Englishmen.[19]

As the Earl of Carnarvon indicated, although Eyre seemed to have acted illegally, the Government was not to take him to court for wrongdoing. 'Mr. Eyre has', he argued, 'suffered severely indeed; his recall has been as heavy a blow as could possibly be inflicted upon him.'[20] The threat of racial annihilation, emphasised by the warning of Haiti, played a key role in the outcome of the debate over Morant Bay.

[19] Earl of Carnarvon, Lords Sitting, 2 August 1866, House of Lords Hansard.
[20] Carnarvon.

The overview above highlights the importance of Haiti to the debate over the Morant Bay War. Of central importance, I argue, in promoting the notion that Haitian history was significant for understanding the conflict in Jamaica, were the activities of the anthropological societies. Anthropological knowledge clearly influenced Eyre both in his belief that the protest at Morant Bay was in fact the manifestation of a 'race war' and, most significantly for this chapter, in his insistence of this reasoning to the British government. As a science that promoted the method of discerning 'racial' characteristics through the comparison of otherwise disparate peoples, anthropology enhanced Eyre's argument that the conflict in Jamaica should be understood by examining a history of conflict in Haiti. Moreover, it made Eyre's justification for violence both more reasonable and believable in the context of British political discourse.

Eyre had joined the Anthropological Society of London in 1864 and in many ways embodied its pedigree. As explorer and magistrate in Australia in the 1840s, Eyre collected and classified specimens of birds and insects.[21] He published his account of exploring the Australian interior as 'it became a duty to record the knowledge which was thus obtained, for the information of future travellers and as a guide to the scientific world into their inquiries into the character and formation of so singular and interesting a country.'[22] Moreover, Eyre was fascinated by the physical and cultural differences of the local

[21] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press 2002), p. 35.
[22] Edward Eyre, *Journals of Expedition*, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the Years 1840–1; Sent by the Colonists of South Australia, with the Sanction and Support of the Government: Including an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines and the State of their Relations with Europeans* (London: T. and W. Boone, 1845), p. vi.

'aboriginal' population, with whom he had a 'long experience, and an intimate knowledge of their character.'[23] Influenced by the Aboriginal Protection Society, forerunner of both the Ethnological Society of London and the ASL, Eyre conceived of himself as a protector and guide of 'aborigines', believing he 'would bring [his] charges to full manhood or womanhood.'[24] As Catherine Hall explains, by the time Eyre was redeployed as Governor of St. Vincent in the Caribbean in 1855, he had spent some time in Britain where ideas of race, proffered by the like of Thomas Carlyle and James Prichard, had proliferated. For Hall, Eyre represents a narrative of the movement of ideas between empire and metropole, as well as the shift from conceiving 'black peoples as brothers to black peoples as a new kind of "other."'[25] Faced in Jamaica with what he considered a corrupted legislature and a waning economy, he concluded that emancipation of the enslaved population had been a failure.

Eyre emphasised the importance of Haitian history in conceptions of the Morant Bay War. In doing so, the Governor made an argument that was considered forceful by the British government. This relied to some extent on members of the British government sharing with Eyre such an understanding of Haiti. The Earl of Morley (quoted above), was not the only politician to cite Haiti as shorthand in the debate.[26] Eyre was not, then, alone in promoting the significance of Haiti to the debate over Morant Bay. Anthropological knowledge that championed the notion that the populations of Jamaica and Haiti shared

[23] Eyre, p. x.
[24] Hall, p. 46.
[25] Hall, p. 65.
[26] For instance, the Liberal MP Frederick Cavendish made the identical argument in the House of Commons. See Commons Sitting, 6 February 1866, House of Commons Hansard.

racial characteristics, including that of massacre, was widespread in the British government. This is not to argue that notions of Haiti drawn on in parliament were solely gleaned from anthropologists, more that anthropology played a significant role in the debate. For instance, James Patterson Smith has downplayed the influence of scientific racism in parliament in the wake of Morant Bay, arguing that parliamentarians were much more likely to draw on their Christianity in searching for a response to events in Jamaica.[27] Yet Sadiah Qureshi finds in the case of ethnologist Robert Gordon Latham that adherents to the science did not necessarily follow one doctrine over the other, but took on a mix of elements.[28] The same argument can be applied to parliamentarians in the wake of Morant Bay. Indeed, one parliamentarian, the Duke of Argyll, cited by Smith as following Evangelical principles in his response to Morant Bay, became a member of the ASL in 1869.[29] When considering the views of these parliamentarians, then, it is important not to reduce their thought processes to singular influences but to consider the multiple and fluid contexts in which they operated.

Anthropologists, Diplomats and Politicians: The Membership of Anthropological Societies

George Stocking, in an in-depth study of Victorian views on race, argues that Victorian anthropologists were perceived as radical and eccentric.[30] For

[27] James Patterson Smith, 'The Liberals, Race and Political Reform in the British West Indies, 1866–1874', *The Journal of Negro History*, 79, 2 (1994), 131–46 (p. 138).
[28] Qureshi, 'Latham', p. 163.
[29] 'Old Fellows'.
[30] George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), p. 253.

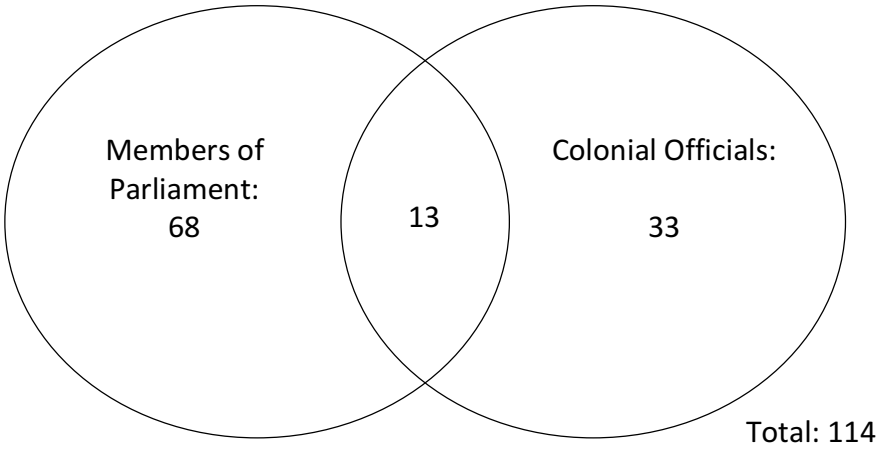
Stocking, Richard Burton, with his reputation as an 'outcast hero', was indicative of the position of the ASL in learned society. Likewise, Damon Salesa has more recently pointed out that the British Government did not concern itself with the anthropological societies, as it did with the Royal Geographical Society.[31] Colonial governments, posits Salesa, were reluctant to surrender 'their capacity to gather and construct knowledge to distant, scholarly, often private realms. And they did not.'[32] As far as the ESL and ASL were concerned, they rarely involved themselves with the practical problems of empire. They eschewed political matters for fear of inviting accusations of 'prejudice', jeopardising their claims of scientific rigour.

This does not mean, though, that the views of anthropologists were not important either within scientific circles or the political sphere, simply that their influence was more subtle and nuanced, relying upon networks of communication rather than open, official correspondence. The 'Old Fellows Database' at the Royal Anthropological Institute, constructed by archivist Sarah Walpole gives details, where available, of over 2,000 members and associates of the ESL and ASL.[33] This database reveals the immersed nature of anthropologists in political and diplomatic, as well as scientific, spheres. Figure One, below, based on the database, shows that amongst the members were 68 parliamentarians between 1863 and 1869, at a time when there were 656 seats in Westminster,

[31] Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 146.
[32] Salesa, p. 152.
[33] Sarah Walpole, 'Old Fellows Database', Royal Anthropological Institute. The database covers the lifespans of the ESL (1843–69) and ASL (1863–69) until their unison in 1869. The database is, though, incomplete focussing more on members of the ASL. In response to the availability of information in the archive, it also has a bias towards the more politically and socially significant members.

thirteen individuals who were both parliamentarians and colonial officials and a further 33 colonial officials.[34] Among the colonial officials were consuls to territories across South and Central America, the West Indies, Africa, the Mediterranean and the Middle East; various Governors of Hong Kong, New Zealand and Australia; and colonial officials from across India.[35] Tables Two and Three show that this cross-fertilisation was especially intense in the upper ranks of the anthropological societies, within leading positions dominated by men with a vested interest in colonial politics and management.

Figure One: Number of MPs and Colonial Officials in the ESL and ASL.



[34] In response to the availability of data, I have based the timeframe of this table on the lifespan on the ASL. The lack of data means that these figures represent a minimum number of politicians and colonial officials. Further research may indicate that there were indeed more than this.
[35] 'Old Fellows'.

Table One: Leadership of the Ethnological Society of London, 1864.

Member	Background	Selected Publications
John Lubbock (1834 – 1913) President	Banker, Liberal MP (Maidstone, 1870), elected to peerage (1900). Member of the X-Club, Royal Institution, Geological Society.	*Prehistoric Times as Illustrated by Ancient Remains* (1865); *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man* (1870).
George Busk (1807 – 1886) Vice President	Naval surgeon; president of the Royal College of Surgeons (1871).	*Report on the Polyzoa Collected by H.M.S. Challenger…* (1884 – 6); c. seventy papers on botany, zoology, medicine.
John Crawfurd (1783 – 1868) Vice President	Diplomat to Penang (1811), Singapore (1823) and Burma (1826); unsuccessful parliamentary candidate (1830s); lobbied on behalf of Indian merchants; member of the Royal Geographical Society, Athenaeum Club.	*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China* (1828); *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India to the Court of Ava* (1829).
Robert Dunn (1799 – 1877) Vice President	Member of Society of Apothecaries, fellow Royal College of Surgeons, Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, the Obstetrical Society, and the Medical Society of London.	*Medical Psychology* (1863)
Lord Talbot de Malahide (1805 – 1883) Vice President	Whig MP (Athlone, 1823 – 1855); used influence to pass 'Treasure Trove Bill' (1858); elected to peerage (1863).	NA
Thomas Huxley (1825 – 1895) Council	Eminent scientist; inspector of the fisheries (1881); awarded national pension on retirement for contribution to science education (1885).	*Oceanic Hydrozoa* (1859); *On our Knowledge of the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature* (1862); *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (1863).

Table Two: Leadership of the Anthropological Society of London, 1864.

Member	Background	Publications
James Hunt (1833 – 1869) President	Speech therapist.	*Treatise on Stammering* (1854); *Manual of the Philosophy of Voice and Speech* (1859)
Richard Burton (1821 – 1890) Vice President	Consul to Fernando Po (1861), Santos, Brazil (1864), Damascus (1869); explorer; well-known figure in popular culture for making the hajj.	*Goa and the Blue Mountains* (1851); *The Unhappy Valley* (2 vols., 1851), *Sindh, and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus* (1851) *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus* (1852)
Joseph Norman Lockyer (1836 – 1920) Council	Scientist and astronomer; discovered helium; founded and edited the journal *Nature* (1869).	*Studies in Spectrum Analysis* (1878); *The Movements of the Earth* (1878); *The Dawn of Astronomy* (1887).
Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800 – 1882) Council	Extensive land owner; senior member of the Anglican Church; Regius Professorship in Hebrew, Christ Church, Oxford (1828).	*An historical enquiry into… the theology of Germany* (1828); *Remarks on the Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions* (1833); *Lectures on Daniel the Prophet* (1864).
William Winwood Reade (1838 – 1875) Council	Africanist and novelist.	*The Veil of Isis, or, The Mysteries of the Druids*, (1861); *Savage Africa* (1863); *The African Sketch Book* (1873); *The Martyrdom of Man* (1872).
Berthold Seemann (1825 – 1871) Council	Prolific writer; botanist and traveller; constructed reports for the Colonial Office on the Fiji Islands (1860) and on the economic resources of Venezuela for Dutch businessmen (1864).	*Narrative of the Voyage* (1853); *Journal of Botany, British and Foreign* (1863); *Viti: an Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands* (1862); various scientific articles (Royal Society *Catalogue* lists ninety-eight of those relating to science alone).

Although the database is not complete, meaning that we do not have information on all members, there is a consistency in the social background of the members on which information is provided. They are, generally, middle or upper class, many with an interest in either colonial or domestic governance. Colonial officials were joined by members of the nobility such as Lord Seymor (First Lord of the Admiralty), while Prince Albert commissioned a paper on the aborigines of St Domingo.[36] Added to this were police chiefs, prison governors, representatives of working-class self-help institutions like Sir E. W. Brabook and social reformers like Charles Booth, all concerned with the fate of the British lower classes. [37] Robert Darnton points out that to understand a culture, or collectivity, from the past, 'one should begin by asking what they had in common, what experiences they shared in [their] everyday life.'[38] The anthropological societies were, then, formed in response to questions of governance, both domestic and colonial.

The fact that some MPs and colonial officials were members of the anthropological societies did not necessarily mean that they were particularly interested in anthropology. We have little evidence for the extent to which fellows took an interest in their subscriptions and, as George Stocking has pointed out, a good deal of the growth of the ASL's membership can be put down to non-paying fellows. Some members were elected without even having applied

[36] Robert Schomburgk, 'Ethnological Researches in Santo Domingo', *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, 3 (1854), 115–22. This Lord Cavendish is not the same Cavendish as quoted in the introduction but a relation.
[37] 'Old Fellows'.
[38] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984), p. 23.

for membership.[39] Listing MPs amongst its ranks does not necessarily mean that such politicians employed anthropological knowledge in their working lives or attended meetings. The influence of anthropologists in parliament was, however, commented on by observers such as James Africanus Horton. Born in Sierra Leone and trained as a medical doctor in Britain, Horton was clearly unnerved by the extent to which anthropologists were extending their influence in Whitehall. In his book, *West African Countries and Peoples* (1868), written as a vindication of the 'African race', he wrote that the 'Anthropological Society'

> rake[s] up old malice and encourage[s] their agents abroad to search out the worst possible characteristics of the African… It would have been sufficient to treat this with the contempt it deserves, were it not that leading statesmen of the present day have shown themselves easily carried away by the malicious views of these negrophobists.[40]

The communication network that becomes apparent through the analysis of the membership data of the ASL and ESL was thus observed by concerned contemporaries. The exchange of ideas amongst politicians and anthropologists further becomes apparent in an examination of the debate that surrounded the Morant Bay War. In the light of this, it is imperative to interrogate the method that anthropologists used to construct ideas of race and imperial governance to

[39] George Stocking, 'What's in a Name? The Origins of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1837–71)', *Man*, 6, 3 (1971), 369–90 (p. 382).
[40] James Africanus Horton, *West African Countries and Peoples British and Native with the Requirements Necessary for Establishing that Self Government… and a Vindication of the African Race* (London: W. J. Johnson, 1868), p. v.

ascertain how ideas about Haiti were formed in these societies before being mobilised in the debate. An examination of this method suggests one reason why Eyre and his supporters considered it valid to compare the case of Jamaica with that of Haiti. Through means of comparison and synthesis, anthropologists distilled the voluminous amount of information on foreign peoples into simplified categories of race. Haitians and Jamaicans were perceived by anthropologists to be equivalent through inherent racial traits.

The Anthropological Method: Devising Racial Categories

In the introduction to his 1973 edited volume, Talal Assad asserts that

> [i]t is not a matter of dispute that social anthropology emerged as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of the colonial era, that it became a flourishing academic profession towards its close or that throughout this period its efforts were devoted to a description and analysis — carried out by Europeans, for a European audience — of non-European societies dominated by European powers.[41]

Anthropology helped colonisers to rationalise colonial control and make some sense of the new places and peoples they encountered. Yet, it is a mistake, Asad suggests further, to perceive the 'Science of Man' as a simple reflection of

[41] Talal Asad, 'Introduction', in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, ed. by Talal Asad (New York: Humanity Books, 1973), pp. 9–19 (pp. 14–15). Carole McGranahan has more recently argued that because anthropology was conducted by a large number of colonial officials, it operated as a 'handmaiden of colonialism.' See, Lecture, Carole McGranahan, ANTH 2100 Frontiers of Cultural Anthropology, 20 Oct 2010.

imperial ideology as this ideology 'always contained within itself profound contradictions and ambiguities.'[42] Rather, anthropology contributed to, and could conflict with, various discourses of imperialism. Members of the ASL and ESL processed a vast multitude of information sent from across the empire, synthesising it into knowledge of other peoples, justifying their colonisation, or future colonisation. As Thomas Richards suggests in *The Imperial Archive* this practice was not unique to anthropology but part of a broader imperial process: 'From the beginning of the new imperialism in the 1860s, the British viewed their empire as an immense administrative challenge.'[43] As new territories were annexed, racial categories devised by anthropologists aided colonial officials who, as Richards maintains, were painfully aware of the gaps in their knowledge' in attempting to comprehend the new territories and peoples.[44] In sorting notions of peoples, or 'races', into hierarchical models, colonial officials and anthropologists developed an understanding of their relation to their new surroundings and helped to justify the power relations the British empire.

Ideas of racial hierarchies were by no means new. Andrew Curran examines the search for the cause of blackness in European scientific circles throughout the eighteenth century, a search which culminated in Johann Friedrich Meckel's influential 'discovery' of dark brain tissue that supposedly indicated limited cognitive ability in people of African heritage.[45] Curran elaborates that these theories were key in justifying systems of enslavement. For

[42] Asad, p. 17.
[43] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), p. 1.
[44] Richards, p. 3.
[45] Andrew Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in the Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

example, the eighteenth-century naturalist the Comte de Buffon devised notions of blackness that informed the plantation owner Edward Long who, in turn, used pseudo-scientific language to understand the people working on his plantation. He analysed their hair, smell, family structure and morality to ascertain inherent difference.[46]

Curran rightly highlights the importance of pseudo-scientific racism in justifying enslavement. In the context of the anthropological societies, some thirty years after legal emancipation in the Caribbean (1834–38), both the method and purpose of 'scientific' racism diversified. As Sadiah Qureshi finds in tracing changes the study of human difference in the decades following emancipation, both the methods and conclusions of racial theory proliferated.[47] The scientific racism of anthropologists was one such proliferation. Anthropologists no longer focused on a justification for slavery but sought an explanatory model for the practice of imperialism. Notions of race, then, developed under the context of transatlantic slavery, remained significant as the British empire expanded to dominate a broadening range of 'others'.

Both Curran and Qureshi highlight the importance of the peoples of empire in the development of European intellectual traditions. James Hartfield, in a study of the Aborigine Protection Society (APS), details the significance of philanthropist groups in fostering information on foreign peoples in the nineteenth century, arguing that 'an expanding Empire brought Britain into contact with native people all over the world, and set the task of how they would

[46] Curran, p. 223; also in Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984).
[47] Sadiah Qureshi, 'Robert Gordon Latham, Displayed Peoples, and the Natural History of Race, 1854–1866', *The Historical Journal*, 54, 1 (2011), 143–66 (p. 163).

treat them.'[48] The ESL splintered from the APS in 1843 with the intention of concentrating on studying the people it had pledged to protect.[49] Following this split, then, imperial humanitarianism was increasingly combined with pseudo-scientific discourse. In the further split, in 1863, between the ESL and the ASL, humanitarian concerns were removed altogether, to create a society solely designed for the study of far-away peoples.[50] Indeed, at one ASL meeting, in the aftermath of Morant Bay, a vote on whether the speech should continue was taken part way through due to a concern that the topic strayed too far from science and too close to explicit political discourse.[51]

The ESL and ASL, then, grew out of an ambition to influence colonial administration through detailing human difference. Where anatomists of the eighteenth century had unearthed biological disparities between people, members of the ESL and ASL sought to link physiological difference to the various historical and cultural contexts found across empire. This meant, as Thomas Glick has argued, anatomy became linked to the most important of hierarchies, that of civilisational achievement.[52] The anthropology of the ESL and ASL drew on older scientific techniques and ideas of racial hierarchy, developing them in accordance with ambitions of empire. In doing so, the two societies took part in a broader international movement. James Hunt, founder and president of

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[48] James Hartfield, *The Aborigines' Protection Society: Humanitarian Imperialism in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Canada, South Africa, and the Congo, 1836–1909* (London: Hurst, 2011), p. viii.
[49] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 242.
[50] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 240.
[51] Bedford Pim, *The Negro and Jamaica* (London: Trübner, 1866), p. 51.
[52] Thomas F. Glick, 'The Anthropology of Race Across the Darwinian Revolution', in *A New History of Anthropology*, ed. by Henrika Kuklick (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 225–41 (p. 230).

the ASL, for instance, went to university in Berlin and translated Carl Vogt's *Lectures on Man* (1864) from German to English, dedicating it to the French anthropologist Paul Broca.[53] Broca would prove to be a lasting influence on Hunt who modelled the ASL on Broca's *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.[54] Studying foreign peoples, then, was an international exercise that took place in the context of expanding empires. The object of study was rarely a fellow European, but more often the member of a newly colonised community, suggesting the cross-fertilisation of ideas across European imperialisms.

To discern the condition of peoples' cultures, anthropologists collected 'facts'. As Richards makes clear, 'the fact was many things to many people, but generally it was thought of as raw knowledge, knowledge awaiting ordering.'[55] The goal of collecting and asserting facts, Richards, explains, was to have a comprehensive knowledge of the world.[56] Such facts were gleaned from the accounts of travellers, by studying visiting 'exotic' people and through investigating governmental data. These sources formed the anthropological archive from which notions of difference were devised. Ideas about Haiti as racially antagonistic were, then, based on 'facts' relating to that place. Such facts were taken from a diverse range of evidence such as travel accounts and human exhibitions, and were, as I argue below, used by anthropologists to develop notions of race.

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[53] W. H. Brock, 'Hunt, James (1833–1869)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14194> [accessed 20/11/2014]; Qureshi, 'Latham', p. 160.
[54] Stocking, 'What's in a Name?', p. 376.
[55] Richards, p. 4.
[56] Richards, p. 5.

Lord Nelson and Antoinette, the 'Woolly Woman of Hayti': The Anthropological Archive and Popular Interpretations of Haiti

Much of the data used by anthropologists were accessible to the broader British public through its general publication. Although this information was available to 'experts' and the public alike, it was the racial 'scientists' that championed the use of this information as 'evidence' for racial typing. The conclusions devised by the anthropologists then circulated to inform the popular sphere. This was the case, I argue, with ideas about Haiti in the wake of the Morant Bay War. It is my concern here to highlight the differences in popular and anthropological understandings of Haiti before Morant Bay.

One such example of information that was available to anthropologists and the broader public alike is the story of the discovery of a bust of Admiral Horatio Nelson found in the Acul Mountains of northern Haiti. Although not specifically mentioned in the proceedings of the ESL or ASL, the story of the bust formed part of the archive that anthropologists could consult for an understanding of foreign societies. First published in *The Times*, and reprinted throughout the local press, in 1863, the story reads:

> A letter from Hayti mentions a curious incident. Among the Acul mountains there had been found, in an old house, a bust of Lord Nelson. It is of white marble, somewhat stained by time and neglect… This bust, interesting in its artistic and historical association, was found on an altar devoted to fetish worship, where for half a century it had been

> reverenced as the Deity of the Mountain Streams… Thus for 50 years the bust of an English Admiral has been worshipped as a heathen idol.[57]

This story is consistent with other travel accounts that emphasised the perception of Haiti as lacking civilisation. The Marquis of Lorne (1865) and Lord Eustace Cecil (1867), both of whom travelled to Haiti, lamented the country's 'deep-rooted indifference and time-honoured contempt for foreign countries and their affairs.'[58] Its mountainous regions, in particular, were seen not only to lack civilisation, but to be in opposition to it, as the missionary Edward Bean Underhill reported in 1862: '[a] cordon was drawn about the missionary and [the reverend] was forbidden to visit the mountains for any religious purposes… [it was a place of] dark superstition.'[59] Anthropologists used these descriptions of Haiti for an assessment of its inhabitants. For example, in a speech to the ASL, Captain Bedford Pim quoted Eustace Cecil's comments on Haiti: 'the history of few countries presents such an interminable series of revolutions, usurpations, and anarchy, as that of Hayti, in the short period that it has exercised as an independent nation.'[60] In the context of travel writing on Haiti, the bust of Nelson

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[57] [Anonymous], 'America', *The Times*, 6 November 1860, p. 12. See also, [Anonymous], 'A Letter From Hayti', *Standard*, 7 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'Untitled', *Daily News*, 7 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'A Letter from Hayti', *Essex Standard*, 9 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'Bust of Nelson Found at Hayti', *Glasgow Herald*, 9 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'A Curious Incident', *The Preston Guardian*, 10 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'Untitled', *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 10 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'Nelson A Heathen Idol', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 November 1860; [Anonymous], 'Untitled', *Lancaster Gazette*, November 10 1860, p. 6.

[58] Cecil Eustace, *Impressions of Life at Home and Abroad* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1865), p. 4; Marquis of Lorne, *A Trip to the Tropics and Home Through America* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867).

[59] Edward Bean Underhill, *The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition* (London: Jackson, 1862), p. 115.

[60] Eustace, cited in Pim, p. 26.

could have been interpreted as an example of the results of a certain group of people when the European, 'civilising', power was removed.

Not all anthropologists approved of using such travel narratives for the purposes of anthropology. The notorious racial scientist Robert Knox protested 'I quote no idle traveller, wandering about to amuse himself, without either information, powers of observation, or authority.'[61] Yet, for many anthropologists, travel accounts provided a credible form of evidence for assessing the racial characters of foreign peoples. Pim boasted that his theories on the black population of the Caribbean were grounded in the travel narratives of 'Burton, Baker, Speke and Grant, Livingstone — in short, a mass of material upon which to form an opinion.' [62] Ideas about Haiti arrived at the anthropological societies through such narratives, where they were interpreted and synthesised into notions of race.

The narrative by Underhill, written upon the request of the Baptist Church to investigate the conditions of emancipation in the Caribbean, was perhaps an unlikely source for anthropologists due to its explicitly pro-emancipatory stance. Abolitionists were regarded by some in the ASL as lacking scientific rigour in their views on race. For instance, one anthropologist, George McHenry, hounded an opponent to his views on race by stating 'I am afraid you are an abolitionist, sir… you do not know better.'[63] Yet, anthropologists took up narratives such as that by Underhill and translated them into 'scientific' doctrine.

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[61] Robert Knox, 'Ethnological Inquiries and Observations', *Anthropological Review*, 1, 2 (1863), 246–63 (p. 250).
[62] Pim, pp. 4–5.
[63] James Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place in Nature', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, 2 (1864), 15–56 (p. 45).

This process of interpretation resulted in multiple conclusions. In a paper given to the ASL, the abolitionist and theologian Edward Bouverie Pusey provided Underhill's narrative as evidence that the black population 'find [their] only proper sphere is a position which, though possibly humble, is yet one of freedom.' [64] Underhill, however, warned against a complete loosening of colonial control in the British Caribbean, by drawing on the warning of Haiti. The problem of Haiti, Underhill suggests, 'has its source in the antagonism existing between the black and the mulatto. The [former] is strongly imbued with the superstition of his African origin, which no cultivation has removed.'[65] Underhill's notion that Haiti suffered an internal strife based on two antagonistic races was emphasised by another frequent attendee at ASL meetings, Charles Carter Blake, who claimed that

> we have seen in Hayti revolutions by turns. In the first we saw the mulattoes massacring all the Negroes they could catch and in the second the converse law was adopted. Geffrard, a mulatto, is the present president, and he has turned out Soulouque, a Negro, who was also a barbarous and blood-loving potentate.[66]

As opposed to Pusey, Blake was arguing for stauncher colonial control over black populations. Anthropologists used travel narratives to glean facts and provide ideas on how empire should be governed. Notions of appropriate government

[64] S. E. B. Bouverie Pusey, 'The Negro in Relation to Civilised Society', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, 2 (1864), 274–90 (pp. 274–75 and p. 284).
[65] Underhill, p. 109.
[66] Charles Carter Blake, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 33.

differed between anthropologists but they were unanimous in joining in the method of gleaning information from travel narratives.

Travellers, and their narratives, did not just influence theories on colonial governance through the role of anthropologists, as Mimi Sheller makes apparent in her study of Underhill's influence on the Morant Bay War.[67] Sheller relates the case of a letter of sent by Underhill to Edward Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that then circulated around Jamaica, to varying effect. The letter lamented the conditions of poverty in Jamaica. Eyre, in an attempt to protest against the letter's contents, made the text public. As Sheller explains, the letter then incited much debate, which Eyre would later point to as one trigger behind the protests. As this case demonstrates, travellers and their writing could inform both political action and colonial governance, albeit in unintended ways.

In drawing on travel narratives, anthropologists intervened in an already politicised conversation between travellers and their readers. Synthesising and extrapolating the information provided by travellers, anthropologists created theories that incorporated varieties of people. The 'facts' of one place, then, had broader implications as racial scientists compared peoples. Through such a comparative method, ideas about Haiti were deployed to explain wider notions of race. For instance, in the paper 'On the Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Negro' (1866), the ex-leader of the ESL, John Crawfurd, compared the population increases amongst the enslaved of the United States, the British West Indies, and Haiti.[68] Crawfurd compared this supposed group of people in three

[67] Mimi Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery: Black Republics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), pp. 200–01.
[68] John Crawfurd, 'On the Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Negro', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 4 (1866), 212–39.

different socio-political contexts: a society where they were enslaved, under colonial rule and self-governing. He concluded:

> In the comparatively short period which has elapsed, Hayti has had many revolutions, the government oscillating between a republic and an empire, in humble mimicry of the great nation whose yoke they threw off. The same sensual vices would seem to prevail in Hayti as among the emancipated Negroes of the British colonies, and the result is that increase of population has been stayed.[69]

In this case, Haitians and certain sections of the Jamaican population were perceived to be inherently united by supposed 'sensual vices'. Bound by perceived racial qualities, Haiti was construed by Crawfurd as a marker for peoples under colonialism in the British Caribbean and under enslavement in the United States should these systems of domination be removed. Ideas about Haiti as racially antagonistic, as 'regressing' to conditions found in Africa, and as a place that could not achieve population growth, had implications, as far as anthropologists were concerned, for the black population throughout the Atlantic World. The arguments developed by anthropologists were based on information taken only from sources perceived as 'reliable'. For 'evidence' of the Haitian character, the 'scientists' looked to travellers and to colonial officials, rather than to people outside of the communication network. Haitians were neglected in the production of scientific knowledge about Haiti.

[69] Crawfurd, p. 213.

Information such as the story of the bust of Nelson, however, published as it was throughout the local presses of Britain, could also be interpreted within a popular narrative of British naval success. According to N. A. M. Rodger, a recent biographer of Nelson, the memory of the Admiral, and his various naval successes, had begun to be revived around the middle of the nineteenth century as a national hero, acting as a symbol of British sea power and a talisman against national anxiety.[70] Jan Rüger further argues that, whereas the army was constituted of more regional identities, 'the Royal Navy was one of the most important agents of Britishness in the Victorian and Edwardian era.'[71] With this view in mind, the discovery of the bust in Haiti being used for 'feitsh [*sic*] worship' would have been seen as both indicating the universality of Nelson's heroism, and as a misrepresentation of the naval general. The story may well have appeared of such interest, explaining its wide publication in the popular press, due to the contrast of a perceived British greatness, in the form of Nelson, to the 'fetishism' of Haiti. In this sense, the discovery of the bust is not only relevant to projects of anthropology, but also supports popular ideas of British exceptionalism. Through such contrast, Haiti appears to emphasise British superiority, supported by Christianity and naval supremacy.

Travel narratives were not the only 'data' that interested both anthropologists and the broader public, leading to differing interpretations of Haiti. As Pascal Blanchard argues, exhibitions of peoples, or 'human zoos', as

[70] N. A .M. Rodger, 'Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson (1758–1805)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 12/07/2016].
[71] Jan Rüger, 'Nation, Empire and Navy: Identity Politics in the United Kingdom 1887–1914', *Past & Present*, 185 (2004), 159–87 (p. 161).

Blanchard calls them, provided scientists with a multitude of racial 'specimens'.[72] Human zoos had toured Europe and North America throughout the nineteenth century to satisfy the curiosity of the public. From the latter half of the century, exhibitions became more 'scientific', as Blanchard explains, 'human zoos thus arrived at a moment in the history of science when anthropology was in need of proofs, and were transformed from commercial fairground phenomena to objects of scientific study.'[73] In this context, in 1862, the 'Woolly Woman of Hayti', or Antoinette, displayed herself at Cremorne Gardens in London.[74]

An examination of responses to Antoinette illustrates the differing ideas about Haiti in scientific and popular spheres at this time. According to the *Daily News*, Antoinette 'was a great natural curiosity, having a piece of wool five feet in length.'[75] As Sadiah Qureshi points out, encountering numerous examples of 'specimens' of foreign peoples was akin to collecting them.[76] Scientists compared peoples on display, developing explanations of human difference and enhancing the process of colonial administration. Antoinette's hair, as her stage name suggests, was of particular interest. By emphasising her hair as woollen, the fibre associated with sheep, Antoinette was positioned somewhere between animal and human. In 1862, this had particular currency: Charles Darwin's *The Origins*

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[72] Pascal Blanchard et al, 'Introduction' in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. by Pascal Blanchard et al (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp. 1–51 (p. 7).

[73] Blanchard, p. 16.

[74] Although Blanchard (as the title of his book suggests) argues that displayed people had little agency, the research of Nadja Durbach provides examples, including that of the Woolly Woman, in which people of display did have a degree of control over their shows. See Nadja Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[75] [Anonymous], 'Royal Cremorne Gardens', *Daily News*, 5 June 1862.

[76] Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 190.

of Species (1859) had recently been published in which Darwin crafted a network in which each creature sat in relation to one another along the evolutionary scale.[77] The work proved very influential, heralding the term 'Darwinism', coined by Thomas Huxley, as its own explanatory system. As humans, Darwin argued, were related to apes, so hair became one indicator of how closely related a people were to the primates. The term 'Woolly Woman' may well have suggested an ambiguous biological status to her audience.

Adverts for other, very successful hairy women, like Julia Pastrana and 'Krao', respectively exhibited in the 1850s (and into the 1860s in embalmed form) and 1880s, billed them as the 'missing link', as the connection between the human and animal worlds.[78] Pastrana was advertised as 'baboon-woman' and 'The Nondescript'.[79] The search, amongst scientists, for this 'type' of animal/person was an earnest one, as the Africanist William Winwood Reade told the ASL in 1864, referring to Equatorial Africa: 'I think it very possible that, when the caverns and mountains can be searched, intermediate tribes will be discovered between the gorilla and man.'[80] Antoinette, like Pastrana and Krao, may well have hoped to tap into this scientific desire for a missing link, thereby increasing her popularity.

Such shows, however, did not only appeal to the interests of the scientific community. Secord finds that the sensationalist work *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* had over 100,000 readers, many of whom belonged to the

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[77] Durbach, p. 92.
[78] For Julia Pastrana see Janet Browne and Sharon Messenger, 'Victorian Spectacle: Julia Pastrana, the Bearded and Hairy Female', *Endeavour*, 27, 4 (2003), 155–59; for 'Krao' see Durbach.
[79] Browne and Messenger, p. 157.
[80] William Winwoode Reade in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 39.

working classes. *Vestiges*, he claims, brought the idea of evolution into the everyday, making it a well-known and common conception.[81] The emphasis on biological ambiguity suggested by Antoinette's stage name may have been a strategy to entice a broader lay audience interested in the question of evolution. The strategy of manipulating titles and details of acts to tap into the popular consciousness was, Qureshi finds, common among showmen.[82] For instance, in 1853 Zulus displayed themselves as Xhosa as Britain went to war with the latter.[83] Antoinette's choice of name may have been an attempt to capitalise on an awareness of Haitian history as providing an example of conflict between European and African 'races'. Yet although Antoinette drew interest from at least one scientist, she was met with a general indifference from the British public. My contention here is that such indifference on the part of the British public reveals a lack of awareness of Haitian history at this moment. This contrasts with the way in which Haiti was understood by anthropologists and the broader public in the later context of the aftermath of the Morant Bay War. In other words, the Morant Bay conflict (as we will see) generated an interest in Haiti as a means of comparison for understanding 'racial' conflict.

The place in which Antoinette was displayed, Cremorne Gardens, was an appropriate location as it attracted both a middle-class 'intelligentsia' and the broader public. Its proprietor, Edward Smith, had seen through a series of

[81] James Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 6.
[82] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, p. 73.
[83] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, p. 73.

commercial ventures before turning to the industry of spectacle.[84] He applied his entrepreneurial nous to Cremorne. As historian Lynda Nead comments, '[t]he history of Cremorne in the middle of the nineteenth century is the history of the speculative and entrepreneurial management of metropolitan leisure and entertainment.'[85] By day, the gardens attracted families, mimicking the grounds of a classic British manor house, with its fountains, lawns and flowerbeds but at night it was lit up with gas lamps, and frequented by prostitutes, revellers and pleasure seekers.

One visitor to Cremorne, Francis Buckland, an ichthyologist by profession, but who clearly took an interest in the question of human variation, published a short report on Antoinette following a personal examination. He diagnosed the 'Woolly Woman' with *plica polonica*, a condition that involves the matting of hair. Buckland, though, complained that little information was provided by the show on Antoinette's heritage, only that she

> is said to have come from Hayti: Nothing is said about this place, but it may be as well to remind the reader that Hayti is one of the great Antilles… What the aborigines of this place may be, I know not.[86]

According to Buckland, he was not alone in finding Antoinette a disappointing specimen as the 'Woolly Woman' failed to entice sufficient crowds in London. As

[84] John M. Turner, 'Smith, Edward Tyrrel (1804–1877)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 9/12/2015].
[85] Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 109.
[86] Francis Buckland, *Curiosities of Natural History* (London: Richard Bentley, 1868), pp. 49–50.

a consequence, Buckland wrote, Antoinette 'took her departure… to Paris, where she was shown as the "Wild Woman of the Woods." This is the last I heard of her.'[87] Antoinette may have been unsuccessful in attracting an audience in London because of her method of self-promotion, hence the change in name to make explicit her 'wildness'. This shift highlighted her supposed origins as lying in the curious space beyond empire that was yet to experience 'civilisation'. Nadja Durbach finds that 'Krao', who toured Britain some twenty years later, did successfully play on this imperial narrative. As a child she had been 'captured' and then 'civilised;' she was, Durbach argues, 'emblematic of all that was wild, lawless and savage but ultimately conquerable in the lands at the edge of empire.'[88] This narrative was explained in the pamphlet that accompanied Krao's show. No such information on Haiti came with Antoinette, nor did Buckland know what language she spoke.

That Buckland had to inform his readers of where Haiti was, without being able to provide further information on the place, suggests that few people were acquainted with any knowledge of Haiti. The 'failure' of Antoinette in using Haiti to garner interest in her act thus suggests that little was known about Haiti, or its supposed violent opposition to empire, amongst the British public. Without the relevant information on Haiti, Antoinette's place of origin remained obscure. According to Buckland, the 'Cockneys' not only lacked any knowledge of Haiti, but could not even pronounce it, referring to Antoinette as the 'Woolly Woman of eighty.'[89] Buckland may have known little about Haiti, but his comment on the

[87] Buckland, p. 52.
[88] Durbach, p. 100.
[89] Buckland, p. 53.

mispronunciation by London's popular classes implies that their idea of the place was seen to be misconstrued altogether. The 'Cockneys', and the popular classes were, then, misplaced in relation to 'experts' such as Buckland and members of the communication network of anthropologists and government officials when it came to diagnosing and categorising peoples. Knowledge of Haiti remained specialist, controlled by experts.

As the outbreak at Morant Bay became known through the popular presses of Britain, anthropological knowledge on Haiti became particularly relevant in both parliamentary and public spheres. Increasingly the meaning of Haiti was reduced to that of suggesting a precedent for a massacre of the white population. As we will see in the next section, although anthropologists partook in this project of reducing the supposed characteristics of peoples to various, quantifiable types, such a process involved dealing a multitude of contradictory 'evidence'. Haitian history was to be interpreted as suggesting racial antagonism while other ideas, such as that of Haiti providing an example of the capability of the black population for government, were to be erased.

Scientific Assertions of Racial Identity: The Problem of Haiti

James Hunt, in his opening address to the ASL, attempted to formulate a definitive thesis on the character of black populations, asserting that they were inherently suited to being subject to colonial control.[90] To aid him in his assessment, Hunt quoted directly from James Franklin's travel narrative, *The Present State of Hayti* (1828):

[90] Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place'.

> I cannot avoid repeating that Hayti must not be held up as an example of what can be accomplished by free labour; but that it ought rather to be the beacon to warn the government of England against an experiment which may prove absolutely fatal to her colonial system… The Negro, constituted as he is, has such an aversion to labour, and such a great propensity for indulgence and vice, that no prospect of advantage can stimulate him; and as for emulation it has not the slightest influence over him. Without force he will sink into a lethargy and revert to his primitive savage character.[91]

Franklin, whose business as a trader had involved repeated visits to Haiti in the 1820s, here argued against the emancipation of the enslaved in the Caribbean through the warning of Haiti. Hunt renewed this argument in the context of scientific racism and the question of imperial rule. Any administration over the black population of the Caribbean, for Hunt, required a degree of force, lest they 'revert' to the 'primitive savagery' exemplified by Haiti, as was their character. The thoughts of travellers, even if devised in quite different historical contexts, were deployed in anthropological theory to make pertinent points about the contemporary condition of empire. The information provided by travellers was given a renewed and powerful political relevance in the context of anthropology.

Hunt laid out his claim that the black population ought to be understood as a separate species, and governed as such, by making six assertions:

[91] James Franklin, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 53.

> [1] if we take intelligence into consideration in classification, there is far greater difference between the Negro and the Anglo-Saxon than between the gorilla and the chimpanzee… [2] the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes than between the European and apes… [3] that the Negro is inferior, intellectually, to the European…[4] that the Negro is more humanised when in his natural subordination to the European…[5] that the Negro can only be humanised and civilised by Europeans… [6] that European civilisation is not suited to the requirements and character of the Negro.[92]

In setting out how the black populations of empire should be managed, he partook in the rationalisation of colonial control.

Hunt's method of rationalisation was increasingly typical not only amongst anthropologists but also within the broader intelligentsia. In a direct response to Hunt's paper, when given at the British Association for the Advancement of Science assembly at Newcastle, one anonymous contributor to the Liberal paper the *Leeds Mercury* commented that Hunt had made a 'general hash' of arguments made by slavers in the Southern United States. 'The size and shape of the negro's brain', the contributor posited, 'are questions for the anatomists alone', indicating that the line of questioning was reasonable but that Hunt was not qualified to answer it.[93] This 'oppressed race', the dissatisfied

[92] Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 16.
[93] [Anonymous], 'The British Association and The Negro', *The Leeds Mercury*, 2 September 1863.

writer points out, had never had the benefit of circumstances that had acted in their favour.[94]

The reverend James Massie echoed this anonymous author at the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) conference in Paris, 1867. Responding to the speeches of General Dubois, a Haitian diplomat, and Sell Martin, a previously enslaved American, he announced:

> I gratefully accept the testimony of the coloured men who have addressed us… These are specimens of our coloured kindred, of whom the abolitionist need not be ashamed in the presence of Professor Huxley [future leader of the ESL], his fellow labourer Mr. Hunt, or any other less profound philosopher.[95]

Richard Huzzey argues that abolitionists were heavily involved in the expansion of empire under the ideology of ridding the world of enslavement and the slave trade.[96] Despite the apparent conflict between anthropologists and abolitionists in their preference for certain types of imperialism, they were united in the project of empire. Indeed, in critiquing the work of racial scientists, James Massie took on the method of synthesis and comparison, treating the speakers as specimens of a people. Abolitionists and anthropologists may have disputed the appropriate relationship between empire and its subjects, but at times at least,

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[94] 'The British Association'.
[95] James Massie in British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *Special Report of the Anti-Slavery Conference* (London: Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1867), pp. 45–46.
[96] Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (London: Cornell University Press, 2012).

they shared a comprehension of these people as separate 'races'. The question, then, was one of how each people should be governed.

The process of sorting peoples into a hierarchy according to their inherent capacity, or lack thereof, for civilisation was made problematic by the Haitian Revolution. The fact that Haiti had defeated France some sixty years earlier and continued in its post-colonial state up until the present was addressed in the discussion following Hunt's paper. The anthropologists were unaware of the defeat of Britain. In the process of devising racial categories for the purposes of empire, aspects of the Haitian Revolution were silenced by the anthropologists. This silencing was not, as Trouillot finds occurred in the aftermath of the Revolution, due to an unthinkability of the Revolution's universalism, but a neglect based on the perceived credibility of certain versions of Haitian history. Following Hunt's opening address, as I discuss below, a conversation about Haiti took place in which the idea that Haiti could suggest an inherent 'equality of the races' was put forward only to be rejected. Consequently, Haitian history was defined as evidence of inherent conflict between races rather than challenging ideas of racial inequality.

To some members of Hunt's audience, at least, Haitian history suggested a certain aptitude of the black population in the Caribbean for civilisation. In the discussion following on from Hunt's paper, the Oxford scholar and theologian Edward Bouverie Pusey opined, 'I quite concur in the whole with what our president has stated, that the Negroes are a different species from the white man.'[97] But, he went on,

[97] Edward Bouverie Pusey, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 17.

> I think we can point to one example of a pure black man, eminent both as a statesman and warrior — Toussaint l'Ouverture… when we consider his self-control and wise legislation and — we cannot doubt that… he was a man of splendid abilities. It is essential to know what tribe of Africans he belonged to.[98]

Louverture's 'tribe', for Pusey, would provide an explanation for his exceptionality in terms of governance. As I detail in Chapter One, the postcolonial scholar Charles Forsdick, in an examination of earlier nineteenth-century representations of Louverture, argues that he was portrayed as embodying the successful elements of a Revolution that ultimately led to the failure of Haitian independence.[99] Louverture, Forsdick maintains, was perceived to be exceptional to, rather than an example of, the political ambitions and abilities of the Haitian revolutionaries. In the context of these later debates concerning definitions of racial category, Pusey highlights the potential exceptionality of Louverture's 'tribe', compared to other 'Africans'. This indicates the difficulty that Haitian history posed to notions of racial categorisation as it forced the anthropologists to discuss perceived exceptions to such generalisations. It is unclear whether Pusey is suggesting the need for another racial category, or for the need to complicate Hunt's definition of the black population. In either case, Louverture is argued to be an exception so that the majority of the black

[98] Pusey, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p.17.
[99] Charles Forsdick, 'Arguing Around Toussaint: The Revolutionary in a Postcolonial Frame', in *Echoes of the Haitian Revolution* ed. by Martin Munro and Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2008), pp. 41–60 (p. 55).

population was considered to lack the necessary qualities for governance such as 'self-control and wise legislation.' The notion that Haitians could generally act as 'statesmen' or 'warriors', effecting what was considered appropriate government is denied. Anthropologists ignored Haitian knowledge in the system of collecting and converting information into notions of racial types. Anthropological knowledge was concerned with defining foreign peoples, but such definitions did not incorporate the view of the people being defined. Rather than an example of black people in government, Haitian history thus became part of the rationalisation of colonial control.

Pusey's account stood in opposition to other contemporary accounts of Louverture. In *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture* (1853), the Unitarian minister John Relly Beard portrayed Louverture as a 'hero of negro blood.'[100] Making the case for emancipation in the United States, Beard portrayed Louverture as evidence of the potential of the black population as 'capable of the loftiest virtues and the most heroic efforts'.[101] According to Beard, Louverture was not exceptional but exemplary of his race. The notion that the Revolution could be interpreted as an example of the ability of people of African descent for government was raised in response to Hunt's paper. Another minister, the Reverend John Dingle, who had joined the ASL in 1863 argued:

[100] John Relly Beard, *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture, The Negro Patriot of Hayti: Comprising of an Account of the Struggles for Liberty in the Island and a Sketch of its History to the Present Period* (London: Ingram, Cooke and Co., 1853; repr. Westport, Connecticut: Negro Universities Press, 1970), p. 39.
[101] Beard, p. 20.

> At the outbreak of the French revolution events took place in St. Domingo which were enough to subvert all the lecturer's positions as to the inferiority of the blacks… Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines were all thorough-bred Negroes… and they were unquestionably great men[102]

By deviating from the narrative taken up by Pusey, that Louverture was an exceptionality, to include the other leaders of the Revolution in his analysis of 'greatness', Dingle opened up the notion that the black population was indeed capable of self-government. The leaders of the Revolution served as multiple examples of the 'black race'.

The danger of Dingle's counter-thesis was underlined by Charles Carter Blake, who gave papers at both the ESL and the ASL. He interrupted Dingle to assert that 'certainly neither Christophe nor Dessalines; probably not Toussaint l'Ouverture [*sic*] were negroes.'[103] For Blake, it was imperative that Dingle's notion of the Revolution being led by members of the black population be 'corrected'. Blake went on to explain that it was common to confuse the 'purity' of certain peoples. For instance, Blake complained, the President of Liberia, though 'he possesses one-eighth only of Negro blood… [had nevertheless been selected by] Negrophilists… as an example of what civilisation might produce if the Negro could be the subject of such civilisation.'[104] Louverture and the others, for Blake, were best understood as of mixed ethnicity and 'certainly not' members of the black population.

[102] John Dingle, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', pp. 30–1.
[103] Charles Carter Blake, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', pp. 30–31.
[104] Carter Blake, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place in Nature', p. 28.

Although supposed inter-racial reproduction was believed by Blake to have some potential benefits for the progeny due to their European blood, these benefits were lost over generations if new supplies of European blood were not continually introduced. Without a sustained input of European blood, society would regress. This, Blake explains, was the case with the Haitian Revolution and Haiti's ensuing independence: 'mulatto civilisation, now that it is erected in Hayti, has produced one of the most degraded states of social condition.'[105] The 'success' of the Haitian Revolution was portrayed as the result of a European influence but, without a sustained European presence, resulted in a decadent 'mulatto civilisation'.

Marlene Daut argues that at least up until the American Civil War, the Haitian Revolution was repeatedly presented as a 'mulatto' revolt against their 'white' fathers.[106] As I explain in the Introduction to this thesis, Daut terms this conception as 'the mulatto/a vengeance narrative'. The prevalence of the vengeance narrative helps to explain Dingle's assertion that the revolutionary were of 'pure' racial makeup, as being an implicit rejection of the 'vengeance narrative' proffered by Blake. Dingle's argument that the black population in the Caribbean was not inherently incapable of governance was dangerous because it suggested that there was no need for colonial control or, at least, that the black population were suited to a role in colonial administration. The existing state of colonial rule and, indeed, the premise of the superiority of the white population that informed anthropology was thrown into speculation by Dingle's

[105] Carter Blake, cited in Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place', p. 28.
[106] Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

mobilisation of the Haitian Revolution as an example of the character of the black population. Such a notion was rejected by Blake so that the significance of the Revolution as indicating racial equality was silenced. The prevalence of the view that Haitian history did not signal an aptitude of the black population was consolidated in ensuing Anthropological discussions on Haiti.

In the following issue of the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, Henry Guppy, a resident of Trinidad, took up the idea that the Haitian Revolution suggested a broader characteristic of the black population but offered quite a different conclusion to that of Dingle. He posited that the Revolution served as an example for all revolutions undertaken by a black population as it was devoid of any political ambition or outcome:

> [t]he object is generally one of lust or ease, and not one caused by ambitious and domineering ideas; we have seen this exemplified by Hayti, where the *extermination* of the numerically inferior race was determined on by blacks, and not their subjugation, for that, indeed, was impracticable.[107]

The conception that the black population was inherently inept in undertaking meaningful revolution or government was challenged by Dingle through the example of Haitian history. The idea that a black population could perform political action was subversive for notions of colonial control because it suggested that black people in the Caribbean were valid in their claims for

[107] Henry F. J. Guppy, 'Notes on the Capabilities of the Negro for Civilisation', *Journal of the Anthropological Society*, 2 (1864), 210–41 (p. 210).

increased involvement in the political sphere. The political significance of the Revolution was relegated as it was described by Guppy in terms of an inherent disposition of one 'race' against another. As Hutton and Pati argue, respectively regarding the Morant Bay 'rebellion' and the Indian 'mutiny', such evacuation of political ambition from these conflicts helped the colonial authorities and British public to ignore the problems of colonial expansions and discontents of its subject populations.

Eyre immediately conceived of the protest at Morant Bay in racial terms. Although undoubtedly influenced by various intellectual contexts, the importance of the notion that the black population could not protest according to a political agenda is clear. In the following section, I examine the extent to which anthropological knowledge not only influenced Eyre but became increasingly significant in Britain for understanding the events at Morant Bay. I maintain that as the ideas of anthropologists, especially notions of racial equivalence became more prevalent, Haiti was made more relevant to the debate. As the conflict was perceived in racial terms, people in Britain looked to Haitian history to understand why 'black' people in Jamaica were remonstrating, and to ascertain the potential results of the war. In this instance, Haitian history was put to serve in the silencing of political claims made my Jamaican demonstrators.

Anthropologists, Politicians and the Popular Revisited: Reaction and Response to Morant Bay and Haiti

Initially, Eyre's perceived decisive handling of the protestors impressed Cardwell. But as the reported number of deaths rose and questions regarding the legality of martial law remained unanswered, the government sent the Royal

Commission to investigate.[108] The government's growing concern was matched by a heightened interest in the affair amongst the British public. Private letters from soldiers appeared in the press that 'suggested a delight and lack of discrimination in the work of slaughter that deeply shocked the public.'[109] The situation became a controversy leading to what one historian has called 'the Victorian era's most prolonged and fertile debate concerning military and political power and the rule of law'.[110] A civil collective, termed the Jamaica Committee was formed, with the stated aim of 'vindicat[ing] the outraged law and the tarnished honour of the British nation.'[111] They set about taking Eyre to court to be prosecuted for crimes of murder.

The renowned scientist, and member of the ESL, Thomas Huxley, along with well-known figures like the MP and philosopher John Stuart Mill, headed up the Jamaica Committee. They found opposition in the form of the Eyre Defence Fund (EDF) that had support from writers such as Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle surmised the reasoning of the EDF when he explained that '[t]he English nation never loved anarchy nor was wont to spend its sympathy on miserable mad seditions, especially of this inhuman and half-brutish type; but always loved order and the prompt suppression of sedition.'[112] The EDF followed Eyre in the justification of his actions by highlighting the particular circumstances in which he operated. As one pamphleteer for the EDF lamented, 'to realise the danger

[108] B. A. Knox, 'The British Government and the Governor Eyre Controversy, 1865–1875, *The Historical Journal*, 19, 4 (1976), 877–900 (p. 877); Workman, p. 79.
[109] Workman, p. 79.
[110] R. W. Kostal, 'Jamaica Committee (*act.* 1865–1869)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 22/10/2014].
[111] Henry Bleby, *The Reign of Terror: A Narrative of Facts Concerning ex-Governor Eyre and the Jamaican Atrocities* (London, 1868), p. 109.
[112] Thomas Carlyle to Hamilton Hume, 23 August 1866, cited in Workman, p. 92.

requires some effort of intellect, some exercise of candour, some power of taking a clear, calm and comprehensive view of the whole circumstances of the colony.'[113]

The EDF pointed out that questions of legality ought to be subsumed into a broader understanding of the circumstances faced by Eyre, who had had the 'vision' to comprehend the potential extent of the danger beyond the immediate conflict. For the EDF, Haiti contributed to these circumstances. An advert, published in *The Times*, stated that a pamphlet was soon to be made available by the Fund that would include 'Coloured Maps explanatory of the position of the island of Jamaica as regards the Negro Republic of Hayti.'[114] The simple matter of Haiti's geographical proximity to Jamaica, for the EDF, appears to have threatened the British colony of Jamaica. What, exactly, this threat was is not remarked upon in the advert. For the pamphleteer, Finlinson, the more important point was perhaps that Eyre had successfully defended the colony against it: '[i]n a word, he [Eyre] saved the finest of our tropical colonies from the fate of St. Domingo.'[115] Haiti again appeared in the popular press. As opposed to the article on the discovery of the bust of Nelson, this time the meaning of Haiti was clear: it provided a warning from history of the dangers of insufficient colonial control. Unlike in the case of Antoinette, ideas about Haiti were now apparent in popular media, taking on an extra relevancy and becoming more widespread following Morant Bay. Key in providing such ideas as racially

[113] W. F. Finlinson, *The History of the Jamaica Case: Being an Account, Founded Upon Official Documents, of the Rebellion of the Negroes of Jamaica* (London, 1869), p. 649.
[114] [Anonymous], 'Notice', *The Times*, 7 August 1867, p. 1.
[115] Finlinson, p. 671.

antagonistic was the communication network of anthropologists, diplomats and politicians.

For supporters of Eyre, the significance of Haiti as a threat remained consistent as the debate advanced, though the manner in which it was deployed shifted in accordance with available evidence. As news of the War was first received in Britain *The Times* reported that there was clear cooperation between Haitians and Jamaicans: 'an organised conspiracy was being set on foot in connexion with the negroes of the neighbouring island of Hayti, with the view of erecting a Negro Republic in Jamaica.'[116] As more evidence became available, suggesting little involvement of Haitians, *The Times* emphasised the role of Haiti as a more abstract inspiration. In December, the paper asserted that the rebels displayed 'a daring and determined intention to make Jamaica a second Hayti.'[117] Whereas the involvement of Haitians in the War could not be substantiated, the link was maintained by arguing that if Haitians were not deliberately influencing the rebels, the rebels were nevertheless drawing on their example. The rhetorical shift represented a change in tack, due to an absence of evidence, but the argument remained the same, that Haiti had aided in the cause of the War and provided a key circumstance for Eyre to take into consideration. Two days later, *The Times* published a letter that consolidated an approach that did not rely on specific evidence by arguing that the War ought to be explained solely in terms of comparison between racial groups:

[116] [Anonymous], 'Untitled', *The Times*, 3 November 1865, p. 7.
[117] [Anonymous], 'The Insurrection in Jamaica', *The Times*, 11 December 1865, p. 12.

> The ultimate conclusion, forced upon us alike by the example of Hayti, of Jamaica, of Barbados… is, I apprehend, obviously this. The average negro is not qualified to stand alone; he needs governance and guidance at the hands of a superior race.[118]

Where evidence of material interaction was absent, anthropology offered alternative methods of establishing inherent relations between Haitians and Jamaicans.

The pamphleteer for the EDF, Finlinson made the point that to appreciate the complexities of the Rebellion, colonial administrators needed to exercise an informed intellect, rather than abolitionist 'sentimentalism'. The Jamaica Committee, Finlinson opined, were 'prompted only by zeal for an oppressed and dependent race… their zeal was "not according to knowledge."'[119] A certain type of knowledge was of central importance to Eyre's adherents. Anthropologists were keen to provide such knowledge. James Hunt published an article entitled 'On the Negro Revolt in Jamaica' in which he commented:

> to those who have made even a partial study of the psychological character of the negro, the recent outbreak in Jamaica will have caused little astonishment… [yet] the revolution in Jamaica has come like a thunderclap upon the English people.[120]

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[118] [Anonymous], 'The Real Causes of Jamaican Distress', *The Times*, 13 December 1865, p. 12.
[119] Finlinson, p. 637.
[120] James Hunt, 'On the Negro Revolt in Jamaica', *Popular Magazine of Anthropology*, 1 (1866), 1–115 (pp. 14–15).

For anthropologists, Morant Bay confirmed their conclusions about the character of the black population in the Caribbean. In the following section, I explore the reaction of anthropologists to Morant Bay. They provided, I argue, a key source of knowledge for comprehending the War and, more importantly, for discerning what course of action to take. They emphasised the comparative method, and with this the role of Haiti, for understanding the conflict. Thus Haiti, as shorthand for racial antagonism, became increasingly significant as a marker of the character of the black population in the popular press. Such ideas about Haiti helped to facilitate the process (that I outline at the beginning of this Chapter) of relegating the conflict at Morant Bay to a 'rebellion' rather than a 'war'.

Certain members of the ASL agreed with Finlinson that a rigorous method of deduction was needed to best comprehend the affair. Following the outbreak, the ASL called a special meeting at St James's Hall, 'the rooms of the Society in St. Martin's Place being too small'.[121] The sold-out lecture, entitled 'The Negro and Jamaica', was delivered by Captain Bedford Pim. Although I have not been able to find, in the Royal Anthropological Institute archives, an express reason for Pim's selection, it may be of significance that Pim had travelled to both Jamaica and Haiti and had published reports on these places in the *ILN* (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). Pim would thus offer a more popular appeal to the ASL's event. Presumably, as a Captain, Pim could also speak with a recognised authority on matters of colonial conflict. The meeting at St James's Hall, that could hold 2,500 people, and was designed as a concert hall but also held readings by authors such

[121] Pim, p. 5.

as Charles Dickens, thus represents an attempt on behalf of Hunt and the ASL to disseminate anthropological discourse on perceived racial conflict to a broader audience than its typical membership.[122]

Pim overtly used anthropological knowledge to address colonial policy. Who, he asked, 'will discover the true art of governing alien races? I answer, the statesman, who makes science his study and the basis of his efforts for improving the conditions of mankind'.[123] He concluded, in support of Eyre, that the only sensible solution was to abolish Jamaica's Colonial Assembly, creating a Crown Colony, so that Jamaica was to be ruled directly by the British Government.[124] The use of knowledge, as defined by anthropologists, aided the argument of Eyre's vindication.

[122] Lee Jackson, 'Victorian London, Buildings, Monuments, and Museums, St James's Hall', <http://www.victorianlondon.org/buildings/stjameshall.htm> [accessed 10/7/2016).
[123] Pim, p. 50.
[124] Pim, p. 49.

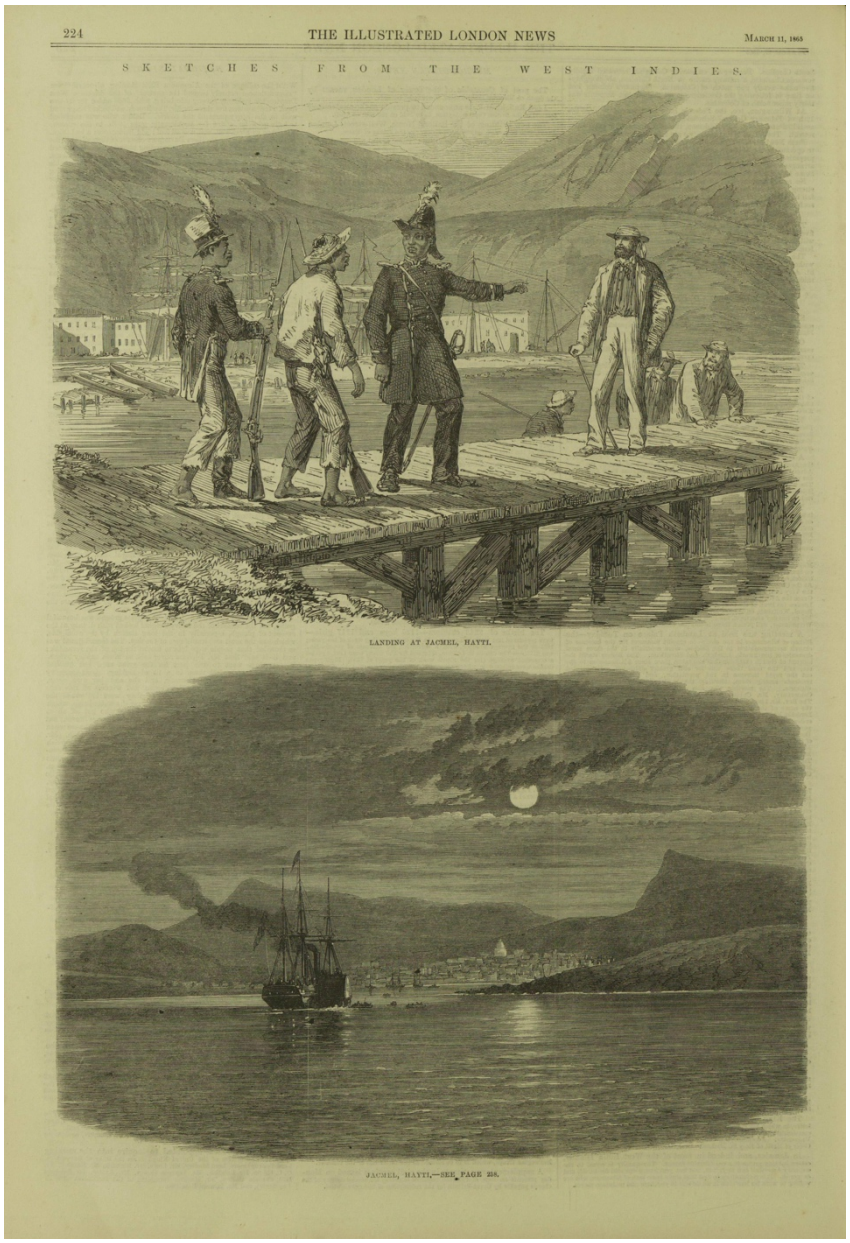

Figure 1: Bedford Pim, 'The Island of Hayti', *Illustrated London News*, 11 March 1865, p. 238. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

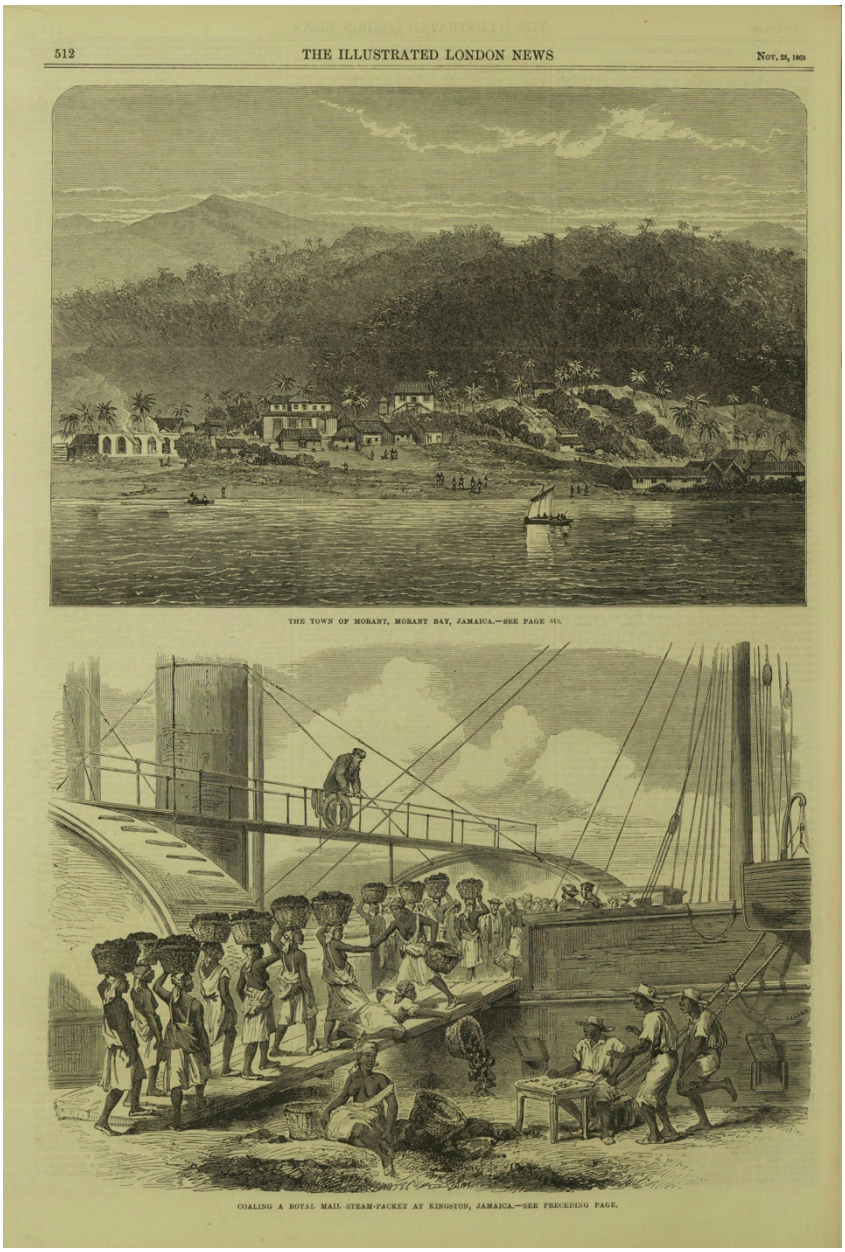

Figure 2: Bedford Pim, 'Kingston, Jamaica', *Illustrated London News*, 25 November 25 1865, p. 512. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

In making his case, Pim construed the War in racial terms: 'the numerous races composing our vast empire can only be governed properly by studying their anthropological characteristics.'[125] The study of race was thus fundamental to any solution devised by the government. To understand the population of Jamaica, Pim examined the history of Haiti as a means of comparison. On the Haitian Revolution he announced:

> The 50,000 white and coloured men, fighting among themselves, fell an easy prey to the 500,000 slaves. The very *vis inertiae* of the negroes was sufficient to secure this end, and it is the greatest mistake to attribute their successes to heroism, ability, or even soldierly qualities. The fact is that rapine and murder were the order of the day, just as it is now on the coast of Africa.[126]

Pim, like Guppy, ignored any ideological motivations in the Haitian Revolution. Yet, Pim cited the Revolution in a new context. Unlike Guppy and previous anthropologists who theorised on the significance of Haitian history, Pim tied this understanding of the Revolution to an immediate problem of colonial rule. The Revolution now signified a more powerful warning against loosening colonial control.

The addressees overwhelmingly approved of Pim's talk; on being asked whether they thought he should continue, as a question hovered over the extent to which his paper could be considered scientific, only one voted against it. This

[125] Pim, p. 5.
[126] Pim, p. 23.

was probably the MP Charles Buxton, member of the Jamaica Committee, who resigned from the ASL in response to Pim's talk. In his letter of resignation, Buxton expressed his 'very deep indignation… [at] the evident attacks made by Captain Pim and others on the character of the Negro.'[127] The majority of the audience, however, applauded Pim's lecture and joined in with his three cheers for Edward Eyre.

In the discussion that followed Pim's talk, there was no debate over the meaning of Haiti and its history as there was after Hunt's discourse on race. There was simply an emphasis on Pim's contention of the dangers of racial antagonism. In what seems like a response to Pim's reference to the Haitian Revolution, one member of the audience, Alexander Aria remarked that 'if the 10,000 whites are to remain in the colony, surrounded by 360,000 blacks, the former must be placed in a position of security.'[128] In the aftermath of Morant Bay, the potentially multiple significances of Haiti were reduced into this warning of racial conflict.

Pim's thoughts on Haiti had, in the past, received some opposition. The Captain previously travelled to both Haiti and Jamaica, publishing a report and sketches of those places (Figures 1 and 2) in the weekly newspaper the *ILN*. His article was introduced by the *ILN* as being received from 'an esteemed correspondent of this Journal, who lately proceeded to the West Indies upon an expedition of great scientific and commercial importance'.[129] Pim's knowledge about Haiti and Jamaica was, then, perceived to have the relevant scientific

[127] Charles Buxton to Council, 6 February 1866, Royal Anthropological Institute.
[128] Alexander Aria, cited in Pim, p. 55.
[129] Bedford Pim, 'The Island of Hayti, West Indies', *Illustrated London News*, 11 March 1865, p. 238.

authority to be published in a newspaper that proposed to offer an objective view of world affairs (see Chapter One). One reader, signed 'an Haytian', complained to the paper 'I fear that you have been made the victim of a practical joker' before systematically contradicting Pim's information on the state's geography, history, trade, laws and government.[130] As the *Morning Post*, a newspaper with a tradition of radicalism, pointed out, this letter was not published in the *ILN*.[131] Instead, the more expensive weekly newspaper, with its traditionally bourgeois readership retained the account of Pim as a credible source of knowledge.[132] Qureshi writes that the mid-Victorian era was a time when 'what publicly counted as scientific knowledge and who could be a legitimate contributor to its production were both undetermined and hotly disputed.[133] Considering this view, Pim's ideas about Haiti and Jamaica were perceived, at least by elements of the bourgeois press and anthropological community, to be sufficiently 'scientific'. Knowledge purportedly offered up by Haitians, however, was perceived to lack the necessary scientific rigour, although it did have a presence in the more popular press. Knowledge production and circulation between anthropologists and the press on questions of empire was, then, considered to be the preserve of British imperialists.

Conclusion

Ideas about Haitian history were deployed in Britain to understand the Morant Bay War in 'scientific' terms. This mode of comparison could also be doubled

[130] An Haytian, 'Hayti', *Morning Post*, 28 March 1865, p. 7.
[131] An Haytian, p. 7.
[132] An Haytian, p. 7.
[133] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, p. 5.

back so that events in Haiti could be understood through the example of the Morant Bay war. Eight days after the War broke out, and Eyre's reprisals were still being carried out, a British ship, the *Bulldog*, sank in conflict with Haitian rebels at Cape Haitian. On learning that the local British consulate had been violated and members of President Geffrard's family had been taken from it, the *Bulldog's* Captain, Charles Wake, wrote: 'It was clearly my duty to demand redress from such gross outrages and defiant hostility… it was equally my duty to inflict a punishment that would teach respect to the English flag and name.'[134] In retaliation, Wake planned to ram the *Voldrogue* while it lay in harbour at the Cape.[135] The *Bulldog* got caught on coral as it headed for the rebel vessel and had to fire on its target. Rebel positions on land returned the fire so that Wake found himself in a protracted battle. By nightfall, he calculated he had three hours of ammunition left and decided to abandon the ship, blowing it up as he went, rescued by one of Geffrard's ships. HMS *Galatea* and *Lily* later bombarded rebel positions while Geffrard's troops led an assault from the ground resulting in Salnave (the rebel leader) leaving Haiti on the USS *De Soto*.

Whereas the warning of Haiti had been used to justify Eyre's violent reprisals, another anthropologist cited Morant Bay to justify the shelling of Haitian rebels following the sinking of the *Bulldog*. The Consul General to Haiti at the time of the Morant Bay War, Spenser St John, who had joined the ASL in 1864, wrote to the Foreign Office:

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[134] Charles Wake to McClintock 29 October 1865, FO 35/72, p. 41.

[135] In a military analysis of events, W. B. Rowbotham points out that this was perhaps not the shrewdest idea considering the *Bulldog* was made of wood and the *Voldrogue* of metal. See'The Loss of H. M. S. Bulldog, 1865', *Royal United Services Institution Journal*, 103, 612 (1958), 549–59 (p. 551).

> It is a most unfortunate circumstance to have occurred at this moment, but, from all the information I have received from the Cape, the conduct of Salnave has been worthy of the Jamaican insurgents, with whom it is suspected he had some connection. Murder, arson, and plunder have displayed his rule, and the last act of violating the British Consulate is but one of many acts which show him utterly unworthy of consideration.[136]

After notions about Haiti had been deployed to assert the meaning of the Morant Bay War as lacking a credible political agenda, that conflict now became a means through which to relegate the political nature of events in Haiti. The rebel leader, Salnave, had argued that Britain could not claim to establish a consul wherever it wished, 'otherwise the English consul might put the English flag everywhere through the city and make the Cape English.'[137] To that end, he also refused Wake, or any British troops, to land as he conceived of it as an act of aggression.[138] Rather than engage with Salnave's politics, and claims to Haitian sovereignty, in the face of British colonisation, St John understands his motives by comparing them with the fighters at Morant Bay.

[136] St John to Earl Russell, 28 October 1865, FO 35/72, p. 4.
[137] The Revolutionary Committee to the British Consulate, 27 October 1865, FO 35/72, p. 179.
[138] Revolutionary Committee, pp. 179–80.

Figure 4: Dr E. J. Moss, 'H. M. S. Bulldog in Conflict with the Flotilla and Forts at Cape Haytien', *Illustrated London News*, 9 December 1865, p. 549. Reprinted with the permission of Mary Evans Picture Library.

Darnton's notion of the communication network has, in this chapter, facilitated an examination of the movement of ideas between anthropologists, politicians, and diplomats. I have further complicated Darnton's thesis, however, by placing the communication network in its broader historical context. Containing 'experts' as well as those in positions of power in government and across the empire, this network was particularly well-placed for collecting 'facts' and disseminating knowledge of foreign peoples across British society. As the case of ideas about Haiti around the Morant Bay War demonstrates, such a network could become especially powerful in times of imperial turmoil. It is not only who was in this network, but also who was exempt from it that is significant. Information on Haiti was collected, interpreted, and disseminated by a British intelligentsia in the diagnosis of the Morant Bay War. Haitian

knowledge goes ignored in the construction of the supposed character of Haitians. In relegating the political importance of events like the Haitian Revolution, anthropologists developed a complex rationale for imperialism. Following this silencing, an idea of Haiti as violent and antagonistic remained and was supported by anthropological 'expertise'. Such a conception of Haiti, as incapable of affecting history or progress, was repeated in the popular press. At times, as in the case of the *Bulldog*, such rationale helped to inform ideas of British exceptionalism.

The importance of the ASL in developing and promoting certain ideas about Haiti is explored further in Chapter Three as I focus on the work of on the British consul. In his 'scientific' account, *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John deployed the anthropological method by citing 'scientists' and invalidating the opinion of Haitians to create an image of Haiti as a society sinking 'into the state of an African tribe.'[139]

[139] Spenser St John, *Hayti or the Black Republic* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1884), p. ix.

Chapter Three

Hayti or the Black Republic

Introduction

In early 1884, while on a diplomatic mission to Mexico, the anthropologist and ex-British Consul General to Haiti reflected on his time in the place he referred to as the 'Black Republic': 'My own impression, after personally knowing the country above twenty years, is, that it is a country in a state of rapid decadence.'[1] Spenser St John wrote these lines in the introduction to the first edition of the travel narrative *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Throughout the work, the ex-Consul details the nature of this decadence, arguing that all aspects of Haitian society, from government to trade, were regressing away from the 'civilisation' introduced to them by the French and towards the condition of an 'African tribe'.[2] Central to St John's argument that such decadence was taking place, was his analysis of 'Vaudoux'. For St John Vaudoux excited the enslaved in the Haitian Revolution, it prevented him from extending his influence in his role as British consul over the Haitian government, it was secretive and inaccessible and resulted in child murder, cannibalism, and a decline in industry and population.

After acting as an assistant to James Brooke, the rajah of Sarawak, in Borneo, St John became the British Consul General in Haiti (1863–74). Anglo-Haitian relations were relatively good during St John's tenancy as the Haitian Prime Minister, Fabre Geffrard, promoted free trade policies. Yet, St John's time as Consul was marred by disputes with members of the Haitian population (the

[1] Spenser St John *Hayti or the Black Republic*, 1st edn (London: Smith Elder, 1884), p. v.
[2] St John, *Hayti*, 1st edn, p. vii.

sinking of the *Bulldog* detailed in Chapter Two provides one such instance).[3] Unlike the Vice-Consul, Henry Byron, who integrated himself into the Haitian elite by making friendships and marrying a Haitian woman, St John remained on the fringes of the social and political life of the Haitian elite. As the book was published in 1884, relations between the two countries had deteriorated. This provided a key context for the reception of the work. Reports in the British press frequently mention gunboats visiting Haiti to settle legal and diplomatic disputes.

The influence of St John's work on ideas about Haiti in the Atlantic World was far reaching and pervasive. In 2013 Michael Dash argued that the contents of the book proved 'so influential that as recently as 2010 the magnitude 7.0 earthquake that levelled much of the capital could still be blamed on a supposed "pact with the devil" that the country had signed by turning to vodou.'[4] St John was by no means unique in deriding Haiti. Marlene Daut has recently argued that the events of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) 'were incessantly narrated in a particularly "racialised" way' throughout the nineteenth century.[5] St John's text was, however, particularly important in creating and promoting certain ideas

[3] For further details of these disputes see Matthew Smith, *Liberty*, *Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica After Emancipation* (North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 2014), p. 175 and p. 205.
[4] J. Michael Dash, 'The Trial the Gave Vodou a Bad Name', <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-trial-that-gave-vodou-a-bad-name-83801276/?no-ist> [accessed 13/07/2016]. For discussion of Vodou as a religion see Roland Pierre, 'Caribbean Religion: The Voodoo Case', *Sociological Analysis*, 38, 1 (1977), 25–36; Nathaniel Murrell, *Afro-Caribbean Religions: An Introduction to Their Historical, Cultural, and Sacred Traditions* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008). For the way in which this religion has been represented see also Bettina Schmidt, 'The Interpretation of Violent Worldviews: Cannibalism and Other Violent Images of the Caribbean', in *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, ed. by Bettina Schmidt and Ingo Schroeder (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 76–93; and Laurent Dubois, 'Vodou and History', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43, 1 (2001), 92–100.
[5] Marlene L. Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), p. 3.

about Haiti. In *The Spirits and the Law*, Kate Ramsey argues that the shift to an emphasis on Vaudoux marked a change in strategies of denigration as 'scientific' notions of race proliferated.[6] St John's work championed this shift in strategies of denigration, as he consolidated and dispersed the view of Haiti as in a condition of Vodou-steeped decadence.

To understand quite how far *Hayti or the Black Republic* shaped the meaning of Haiti in the Atlantic world, this chapter seeks to place the book in its 'communication circuit'. As I explain in the Introduction to this thesis, Darnton defines the communication circuit as the 'life cycle' of the book:

> that runs from the author to the publisher… the printer, the shipper, the bookseller and the reader. The reader completes the circuit because [they] influence the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves.[7]

The meanings contained in *Hayti or the Black Republic* reached a wide and varied readership, but as they did so they took on a different significance. These meanings did not necessarily change as they were read in differing contexts but the significance that they were perceived to have did radically shift. For instance, St John frames the contents of his book in the debate over the condition of British imperialism in Africa. Yet, the readers of *Hayti or the Black Republic* redeployed its ideas in alternative discursive contexts. The historian J. A. Froude, for

[6] Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
[7] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111, 3 (1982), 65–83 (p. 66).

example, took up St John's descriptions of Haiti and mobilised them in his argument against increasing enfranchisement in the Caribbean. Other reviewers, such as those in the popular press, highlighted the significance of St John's work for understanding the importance of conflicts between Haiti and Britain. To some extent, then, St John surrendered control over the significance of the ideas contained in *Hayti or the Black Republic* as they were deployed in differing contexts. But the notion that Haiti was a place of decadence remained undisputed as it was repeated by the book's 'Western' readers.

The structure of this chapter follows the logic of the communication circuit. I begin by assessing St John's method of referencing Africanists and fellow anthropologists. This method enhanced *Hayti or the Black Republic*'s credibility as adhering to 'scientific' principles as well as relating the content of the book to debates over British imperialism in Africa. I then examine the various receptions of the book, beginning with its reception in the British popular press before analysing reactions in the Caribbean and in France. In each of these contexts of readership, *Hayti or the Black Republic* is given a different significance. In the popular press, the book is used to understand conflicts between Haiti and Britain; in the Caribbean it informs discussions of British colonial control; whereas in France, it offers opportunities for colonial nostalgia and for critical examination of ideas of British imperialism. Finally, I analyse the publication of the book's second edition in relation to the communication circuit. In this latter edition, St John reacted to many of the reviews of his work, both positive and negative, by realigning the content of his work to speak to the new contexts in which it was deployed. Specifically, St John reframes the book to relate to the debate over government in the Caribbean, rather than Africa.

Tracing St John's ideas as they appeared in these multiple contexts demonstrates that ideas about Haiti were developed in relation to various concerns and debates. The pervasive and enduring influence of *Hayti or the Black Republic* over ideas about Haiti involved the broader networks of colonial administration and reading publics that mobilised Haiti due to concerns for the condition of imperialism. The ideas about Haiti in *Hayti or the Black Republic* did not, however, involve knowledge produced by Haitians. In both the first and second editions, St John respectively ignores, and regulates, challenges from Haitians to his thesis. As I explain in the following section, this process of neglecting Haitian knowledge was apparent during St John's time in Haiti, as well as in the later writing of the book. Following from this, I argue that in *Hayti or the Black Republic*, Haitian voices were silenced. Moreover, by casting Haitian history as involving a general regression away from civilisation, St John rejected the notion that Haitian independence, and its government of people of African descent, suggested any sort of racial equality. *Hayti or the Black Republic* thus contains two major types of silence: that of specific Haitian voices (as perceived through St John's use of sources), and more abstract notions of racial equivalence suggested by the Haitian state with whom St John corresponded.

St John in Haiti: Beyond Empire

In *Hayti or the Black Republic* St John describes his experience in Haiti by using a narrative of heroism. This was a common theme in Victorian travel literature. As Patrick Brantlinger argues regarding writers who traversed Africa, 'these humble but heroic authors move from adventure to adventure against a dark, infernal backdrop where there are no other characters of equal stature — only

bewitched or demonic savages.'[8] The portrayal of Haiti in *Hayti or the Black Republic* fits this narrative as St John appears to traverse the Haitian landscape, confronting and facing down his Haitian opponents. This narrative contrasts sharply with his experience in Haiti as described in his correspondence with the Foreign Office while acting as Consul General to the 'Black Republic'. Postcolonial scholars Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves argue in *Bad Colonists* that settler identity is intrinsically incomplete, being in a constant state of negotiation. Some settlers, Thomas and Eves maintain, were 'bad colonists' in that they were 'bad at imagining [themselves] as someone shouldering the white man's burden'.[9] Analyses of correspondence between colonial officials, they further suggest, are beneficial for revealing these anxieties. This is opposed to published travel narratives, in which the settler can manipulate the narrative of their experience into an ideal model. The argument of Thomas and Eves regarding settler experience more broadly is supported by an examination of the tension between St John's correspondence and the narrative he provides in *Hayti or the Black Republic*. In his letters, St John describes a particularly difficult set of circumstances that often left him frustrated and unable to wield the influence he desired as a British Consul General. In particular, St John struggled in negotiating Haitian ideas of independence.

In St John's letters back to the Foreign Office, he derided successive Haitian governments, including that of Sylvain Salnave (1867–69) who St John accused of causing a civil war due to the effect of his 'fetish worship' and 'evil

[8] Patrick Brantlinger, 'Victorians and Africans: The Genealogy of the Myth of the Dark Continent', *Critical Inquiry*, 12, 1 (1985), 166–203 (p. 176).
[9] Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves, *Bad Colonists: The South Seas Letters of Vernon Lee Walker and Louis Becke* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999) p. 5.

counsellors'.[10] He reported of Salnave that 'there is scarcely a man near him, whose character will bear the slightest investigation, and being himself very uneducated, he is entirely savaged by his evil counsellors'.[11] St John denies the legitimacy of the advice offered by the counsellors by highlighting the lack of appropriate education and 'civilisation'. Salnave responded by requesting his recall on the grounds of harming Anglo-Haitian relations, making St John plead with the British Government:

> I can assure your lordships that there is no foundation whatever for the charge that I have assumed a hostile attitude to the Government. I have endeavoured to protect the interests of my countrymen, and in doing so, I have naturally been engaged in correspondence with this Government, but I have always tried to word any despatches courteously, and in a spirit of moderation.[12]

St John avoided a recall but he continued to be unable to exert the desired influence over Haiti's leaders and was subject to continuous harassment from various sections of Haitian society. In one case of such harassment, St John reported that he was threatened by a General of Division who 'is well known as one of the chiefs of the sect of Fetish worshippers who are a disgrace to this country.'[13] Finding the man on his grounds, St John

[10] Spenser St John, *Hayti or the Black Republic*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1889), p. 175.
[11] Spenser St John to the Earl of Clarendon, 25 October 1869, FO 35/80, p. 247.
[12] St John to the Clarendon, 1 March 1869, FO 35/80, p. 140.
[13] Spenser St John to Earl Russell, 21 December 1864, FO 56/61, p. 211.

> politely inquired his business when in reply he stated with much violence that he should stop on my premises as long as he pleased and on my then requesting him to leave he addressed the most insulting language both to myself and to the Spanish Chargé d'Affairs [*sic*]… A crowd was soon attracted to the spot, whom he endeavoured to excite to attack us, and failing in this he declared he would go for his armies, and then return.[14]

The issue was resolved when St John appealed to the Haitian government to prevent the General from attacking him. Rather than question the General's suggestion that Haitian independence meant that St John had no entitlement to the land, he relegated the General's claim to being based in a 'disgraceful' belief system. The emphasis on Vaudoux here was a way of avoiding the recognition of Haitian claims to independence and land ownership. In his dealings with Haitian authorities, St John consistently denied the alternative ideas about government and independence that they offered by emphasising the perceived influence of Vaudoux. Marking the limits of his authority as an agent of the British empire, Vaudoux is thus represented as the antithesis to St John's notion of 'civilisation'.

St John did not only report on his vulnerability in the face of the Haitian authorities but he also detailed threats from the broader Haitian society. After a military conflict in 1869, St John relayed to the Foreign Office that his residence was pillaged and he 'lost not only all my plates, and the best portion of my clothing, but my books, manuscripts and documents, the labour of and the

[14] St John to Russell, 21 December 1864, FO 56/61, pp. 211–12.

collection made during my twenty one years of service.'[15] Under attack in this raid was the knowledge that St John had gathered as a colonial administrator. Such knowledge was perceived as essential for imperial control, as Thomas Richards asserts: 'from the beginning of the new imperialism in the 1860s, the British viewed their empire as an immense administrative challenge.'[16] St John then was not necessarily a 'bad colonist' but, like the settlers detailed by Thomas and Eves, his ability to perform his role as an imperial 'hero' was severely limited by Haitian ideas of independence, property and government. He rejected such ideas by extolling the significance of Vaudoux and its impact on his relations with the Haitian population.

In *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John presents himself as overcoming the challenge of Vaudoux. He thus re-presents his experience in which he achieves success not only for himself but on behalf of the British empire. As historian of empire, Graham Dawson explains, in the late nineteenth century,

> heroic masculinity became fused in an especially potent configuration with representations of British imperial identity… A "real man" would henceforth be defined and recognised as one who was prepared to fight (and, if necessary, to sacrifice his life) for Queen, Country and Empire.[17]

[15] St John to the Clarendon, 1 March 1869, FO 35/80, p. 24.
[16] Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), p. 1.
[17] Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

Although St John's experience in Haiti was heavily conditioned by the actions of Haitians and Haitian ideas of, and the continuous struggle for, independence, he ignores any such notions in *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Instead he describes his experience within the heroic narrative in which he asserts his 'imperial masculinity' over Haitians and the Haitian landscape. For instance, in one retelling, strikingly reminiscent of his threatening encounter with the General, St John confronts a man found on 'his' land. He asserts that the man was a *loup-garou*, a person accused of taking children to be sacrificed in Vaudoux ceremonies:

> I went down one day to the outer gate, and looking through the hedge, saw one of the most hideous negroes possible; he had the face of the proverbial ogre, with two long upper teeth protruding over his lower lip… the moment he caught sight of the faithful guardians [dogs] that accompanied me, he shuffled off.[18]

St John's assumption that the man was an adherent of Vaudoux apparently justifies pursuing him without requesting further information. In one sense, this narrative is consistent with St John's account sent to the Foreign Office regarding his altercation with the General, in that Vaudoux is again implicated as a motive for the 'offender's' presence. The version in *Hayti or the Black Republic* differs in that St John acts as the heroic protagonist, challenging perceived Vaudoux child-catchers. Haiti now appears as a space to be 'dominated' by agents of the British

[18] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn , p. 247.

empire rather than as threatening. In *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John realigns his experience of Haiti so that it fits a narrative of the ongoing success of the British empire, to which he is central. In this narrative, Haitian knowledge is rejected.

This narrative of British success in Haiti is consistent throughout *Hayti or the Black Republic*. In his chapter on the Haitian Revolution, St John assesses Britain's involvement by writing that 'in her usual way', Britain only landed a small army, but one that went on to take Port-au-Prince and St Marc.[19] Even Toussaint Louverture, St John claims, could do little to overcome them: 'English discipline prevailed, and the small garrison foiled every attempt.'[20] In the instances where the British were defeated, 'there were few or no English present, only black or coloured men in our pay.'[21] As I discuss in the introduction, historian David Geggus has demonstrated that Britain deployed a considerable army of around 60,000 troops in the Caribbean during this conflict. It suffered high casualty rates, with around 14,405 losses in Haiti.[22] St John was unlikely to have been aware of these figures, as sources relating to British troop numbers were not examined by historians until John Fortescue's *A History of the British Army* (1906).[23] Other estimates regarding losses were published, such as by the contemporary of the Revolution, Marcus Rainsford (1805), who figured some 20,000 losses in Haiti, but it is unclear from where St John gets his

[19] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 45.
[20] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 54.
[21] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 54.
[22] David Geggus, 'The Cost of Pitt's Caribbean Campaigns, 1793–1798', *The Historical Journal*, 26, 3 (1983), 699–706 (p. 701).
[23] John Fortescue, *A History of the British Army, Volume Four* (London: Macmillan, 1906).

information.[24] He does, however, proclaim that 'it is humiliating to read of the stupidity of our chiefs at Port-au-Prince.'[25] St John, then, does describe a degree of British failure in Haiti. Yet, such failure is subsumed under a broader narrative of British success as St John concludes the chapter with the surrender of the French General Rochambeau to the British. For St John, it is French colonial rule rather than British imperial forces that was unable to restrain the Revolution.[26]

In framing the chapter as a story of French defeat at the hands of the British, St John avoids presenting the Revolution as a 'success' for Haiti. Instead, he argues that the Revolution set Haiti on a trajectory of decadence, commencing a fall away from 'civilisation'. Central to St John's thesis that this event marked the beginning of decadence is the prevalence of Vaudoux, which found expression in the Revolution, and continued to thrive under independence. St John describes one key leader of the early stages of the Revolution, Georges Biassou, as a 'Papaloi' who

> encouraged his followers to carry on the rites of their African religion, and when under its wildest influence, he dashed his bands to the attack of their civilised enemies, to meet their death in Hayti… The ferocity of the negro nature had now full sway, and the whites who fell into their hands felt its effect.[27]

[24] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*, ed. by Paul Youngquist and Grégory Pierrot (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013 [1805]).
[25] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 58.
[26] St John ,*Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 74.
[27] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, pp. 40–41.

For St John, Vaudoux acted as an inspiration for the uprising amongst the enslaved. The result of the Revolution, and Haitian independence, he further suggests was 'a country… governed by vanity and ignorance.'[28] The Revolution, then, marked a successful campaign for Britain while instigating a trajectory of decadence for Haiti.

Both the historical and contemporary independence of Haiti are depicted in *Hayti or the Black Republic* as a Haitian failure in which Vaudoux becomes unbridled and rampant in the absence of empire. By contrast, the British empire is construed as a 'progressive' solution to Haiti's decadence. The discrepancy between this narrative and the vulnerability described in his correspondence with the Foreign Office suggests an anxiety that ideas of Haitian independence presented a threat to narratives of British imperial success. In ignoring the threat of ideas of Haitian independence in *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John provides a simple narrative of British heroism. This was not particularly unusual in descriptions of imperial masculinity, as Dawson explains: 'the story that is actually told is always the one preferred amongst other possible versions… Men may wish and strive to become the man they would like to imagine themselves to be.'[29] As St John portrays himself as the vanguard of empire, Haitian knowledge is ignored. Haiti is instead represented as lacking any semblance of 'civilisation'.

The argument that St John's ideas about Haiti as decadent were based on the perceived threat of Haitian independence is supported by an exploration of St John's earlier diplomatic career and related publications. St John spent some time in Borneo acting as personal secretary to James Brooke, the region's rajah.

[28] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 76.
[29] Dawson, p. 22.

As Borneo was under British control, St John was more fully integrated into Bornean society and felt that he wielded a much stronger influence. For instance, in his published account of Borneo, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (1863), St John describes an incident in which he teaches 'young women' to wash by introducing looking-glasses, concluding that there was 'much hope of their advancement in civilisation at a future time; and a few years of quiet and steady government would produce a great change in their condition.'[30] This 'steady government', St John further suggests, was aided by the presence of British officers in Borneo, reporting that the local population used to fight over land disputes: 'now, however, their disputes are brought to their chiefs, or the nearest English officer.'[31]

In comparing St John's representation of Borneo and Haiti, Helen Tiffin argues that he gave an optimistic and progressivist account of the people in Borneo.[32] For Tiffin, this optimism was due to the fact that Borneans were only just encountering what St John perceived to be 'civilisation', whereas the population in Haiti had experienced it under French rule and were apparently falling away from it.[33] This was best exemplified, Tiffin continues, by his relative treatment of Bornean headhunting — the practice of taking an enemy's head and shrinking it — and Haitian cannibalism. Tiffin explains that St John believed cannibalism to be rampant in Haiti but he 'never sensationalises headhunting… [and] some of his references to [it] seem almost casual.'[34] The relation of the

[30] Spenser St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1863).
[31] St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, p. 50.
[32] Helen Tiffin, 'Among Head-Hunters and Cannibals: Spenser St John in Borneo and Haiti', *Kunapipi*, 23, 2 (2001), 18–30.
[33] Tiffin, p. 28.
[34] Tiffin, p. 23.

society that St John encounters to British imperialism is essential to his assessment not only of its prospects but also its perceived current condition on the scale of 'civilisation'. To be within the British empire was to be progressing under British guidance, whereas to be outside of British (and perhaps other European empires) was to be regressing.

This relation contextualised not only St John's professional dealings but also his private life in Borneo and Haiti. Whereas he describes women in Haiti as 'very ugly, having no point of beauty', he takes on a 'mistress' in Borneo and has a family.[35] As Anne McClintock has argued in relation to the gender relations of empire, colonised women 'had to negotiate not only the imbalances of their relations with their own men but also the baroque and violent array of hierarchical rules and restrictions that structured their new relations with imperial men and women.'[36] Gender relations in colonial encounters, for McClintock, were not simply a question of sexuality but were contingent on the power dynamics of imperialism. In light of this, St John's perception of Bornean women — as subservient and obedient —imbued them with a feminine quality that complemented St John's ideas of appropriate gender relations. Such perceived subservience was reliant upon the broader power relations of empire. The absence of empire in Haiti led St John to conclude that Haitian women made inappropriate concubines. In discussing ideas of femininity in empire, historian Catherine Hall maintains that 'when women stepped out of their place they lost

[35] St John *Hayti*, 2nd edn ,p. 148; G. Le G. Norgate, 'St John, Sir Spenser Buckingham (1825—1910)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35906> [accessed 28/4/2015].
[36] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

their femininity, became another species.'[37] Haitian women were 'out of their place' in the sense that they were perceived to resist colonial control by St John and with it the power dynamics of empire that were necessary for the perception of colonised women as feminine. Throughout *Hayti or the Black Republic*, then, St John's representation of Haiti and its people is heavily conditioned by the perceived problem of an absence of empire in Haiti.

St John is consistent between his publications on Haiti and Borneo in the sense that his representation of the two places and their inhabitants relies on their relationship with empire. His stated method for analysing the two places is markedly different. In both analyses, St John makes a claim to expertise but his approach in doing so shifts between publications. In *Life in the Forests*, and its related articles, St John's 'scientific' method is much more explicit. In these works he explores the Bornean landscape and constructs maps using scientific instruments such as the barometer.[38] He also sketches the local inhabitants, explaining to the Ethnological Society of London that 'the engravings in the book… give more distinct ideas of average specimens.'[39] These earlier works, then, suggest a commitment to building a 'scientific' survey of the recently colonised land. St John's technique for substantiating his conclusions in *Hayti or the Black Republic* shifts from a concern with explicit 'scientific' methodologies to a perspective based on his experience, and what he calls his 'impartial view'.

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[37] Catherine Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire', in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Clare Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 180–200 (p. 193).

[38] 'Spenser St John, 'Observations on the North-West Coast of Borneo', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 32 (1862), 217–34 (pp. 218–19).

[39] Spenser St John, 'Wild Tribes of the North-West Coast of Borneo', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 2 (1863), 232–42 (p. 232).

In the absence of an explicit 'science', St John's account of Haiti is made credible by deploying established tropes found in Victorian travel literature. In particular, *Hayti or the Black Republic* relates to the genre of Africanist travel writing. At times in the book, St John makes the precedent of Africa explicit. In his analysis of Vaudoux, for example, St John makes clear its origins in Africa: 'the negroes imported from the West Coast of Africa naturally brought their religion with them, and the worship of the serpent was one of its most distinguishing features.'[40] His assertions about cannibalism and 'fetish worship' were thereby grounded in established ideas about people of African descent outside of British imperial control. Drawing on African precedents, St John thus related his work to discussions over the 'Scramble for Africa' while also substantiating his claims about Haiti as being more 'truthful'. Information on Haiti offered by Haitians was relegated in this process so that the version of Haiti presented by St John was devoid of the Haitian voice and instead reflected British concerns regarding the condition of the empire.

Expertise and the 'Scramble for Africa'

Historian Leila Koivunen argues that in Britain the 'Dark Continent' grew darker with the growth of imperialist ideology.[41] Patrick Brantlinger remarks that this image of the 'Dark 'Continent' began to emerge in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century with the ongoing anti-slavery movement, the impact of Victorian

[40] St John, *Hayti*, 1st edn, p. 229. In a study of the history of Vodou (as opposed to 'Vaudoux' — see the Introduction for my distinction between the two), Colin Dayan details the process of creolisation involved in the development of the religion. See *Haiti, History and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[41] Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), p. 2.

explorers and the merger of racist and evolutionary doctrines in the social sciences.[42] Africa thus 'demanded colonisation on moral, religious and scientific grounds.'[43] As Jan Pieterse Nederveen argues, perceptions of African religion contributed to this concept of animosity: 'Fetishism was one of the classic ingredients of the enemy image of Africans.'[44] In this mounting interest, representations of the African as 'the enemy' proliferated, justifying British expansion.[45] The title of St John's book, *Hayti or the Black Republic* indicates the universality of 'blackness' in Haiti. That '*Black*' is followed by '*Republic*' in the title equally indicates vestiges of French-style government that have been taken over by 'blackness'.[46] There is then a suggested contradiction in the title: Haiti's 'Black Republic' both indicates its position outside of imperial control and its colonial status. Paralleling this is St John's thesis that Vaudoux had become endemic at all levels of Haitian society since independence. In particular, he stresses Vaudoux's hold over the Haitian state:

> A late Prime Minister whose bloody deeds will be an everlasting reproach to his memory, was said to be a chief of the sect… If persons so highly placed can be counted among its votaries, it may readily be believed that the masses are given up to this brutalising worship.[47]

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[42] Brantlinger, p. 167.
[43] Brantlinger, pp. 167–68.
[44] Jan Pieterse Nederveen, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 81.
[45] Pieterse, p. 78.
[46] French colonial control in Saint Domingue may have been absolutist but, as I argue in Chapter One, British commentators continued to draw parallels between later-nineteenth-century Haitian and French government despite Haitian 'independence.' The title *Hayti or the Black Republic* offers further evidence of this process of comparison.
[47] St John, *Hayti,* 2nd edn, p. 189.

The 'Black Republic' could have been read as meaning, then, that following the failure of French imperialism and ascendancy of 'blackness' akin to that in Africa, British imperialism was necessary in Africa.

St John further frames the content of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in discussions over the 'Scramble for Africa' in his paratext; in the introduction he defines a 'black government' as one that will permit such excesses of its population as cannibalism: 'A black Government does not greatly interfere, as its power is focused on the good will of the masses, ignorant and deeply tainted with fetish worship.'[48] It is significant that St John makes these statements in this section of the book. The paratext, for literary critic Gérard Genette, presents the main body of the work, providing the reader with the writer's intended purpose for the text: 'the paratext is for us the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public.'[49] Considering Genette's argument, the paratext of *Hayti or the Black Republic* can be seen as a direct attempt on behalf of St John to tell the reader of the body of the work's significance. In other words, St John is suggesting that the content on Haiti is to be read in relation to ideas about Africa and people of African ancestry.

The paratext, however, does not only concern the introductory comments. As Anthony Grafton explains, systems of referencing also provide indications of

[48] St John, *Hayti*, 1st edn, p. ix.
[49] Gérard Genette, 'Introduction to the Paratext', *New Literary History*, 22, 2 (1991), 261–272 (p. 261).

the way in which the book is supposed to be read.[50] Grafton maintains that referencing 'evokes a Republic of Letters — or at least an academic support group — in which the writer claims membership', as well as persuading the reader that an acceptable amount of work has been undertaken for the text to be considered scholarly.[51] Throughout *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John cites perceived authorities on Africa to support his claims about Haiti. In doing so, St John harnesses the 'expertise' of Africanists to invest his own work with a certain credibility. The paratext of *Hayti or the Black Republic* thus suggests the author's desire for it to be read as a work of 'scholarship'.

St John's system of referencing further reveals a perception of who is considered to have 'authority' over the question of defining Haiti. The academic 'support group' of Africanists that St John draws on is privileged as providing a certain, implicit, knowledge on Haiti. In contrast to this, Haitian knowledge is ignored as offering credible alternatives to St John's version of Haiti. The paratext in *Hayti or the Black Republic* is, then, used to confirm established ideas about peoples of African descent. In referencing the authority of the work of prestigious Africanists, St John in turn helped to make his own work more credible and thus believable. The 'enemy' image of Africans was well established by scholars at this time. As Patrick Brantlinger maintains, even such an astute scientist as Thomas Huxley in his *Man's Place in Nature* (1863) 'indulges in fantasies of [African] cannibalism.'[52] The study of African cannibalism was a

[50] Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997).
[51] Grafton, p. 7 and p. 22.
[52] Brantlinger, p. 184. For European travellers' assessments of African religion see Alasdair Pettinger, 'Irresistable Charms: African Religion and Colonial Discourse' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Essex, 1989). For early nineteenth-century representations of Africa see

serious scientific endeavour. By planting the roots of Haitian Vaudoux in Africa, St John drew on a contemporary 'scientific' knowledge based on the fantasies of imperial control outlined by Brantlinger. Haitian cannibalism was thereby given preconditioned relevance as the practice of a people outside of empire.

As a member of the Ethnological Society of London and the Anthropological Society of London, St John was likely acquainted with Huxley's work (see Chapter Two). Indeed, he references the work of various 'Africanist' members of the anthropological societies such as Richard Burton to support his analysis of Vaudoux and cannibalism.[53] Burton was a Victorian celebrity, explorer, colonel in the army and diplomat. He helped to found the Anthropological Society of London in 1864 and published various anthropological works on Africa and India.[54] The paratext in *Hayti or the Black Republic* thus performs several actions: it frames the significance of the work; supports a certain knowledge about Africans; and invests the book with a degree of perceived credibility.

Burton's work helped to make *Hayti or the Black Republic* credible in more indirect ways. Burton had entered the British popular imagination by becoming one of the few European explorers to make the hajj to Mecca in 1853

Philip Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British and Ideas and Action, 1780–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964). For Victorian ideas about Africa see Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); and, Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher Steiner, *Perspectives of Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997). For an overview of the context of the 'Scramble for Africa' see M.E. Chamberlain *The Scramble for Africa*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 2011).

[53] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 193.

[54] Jason Thompson, 'Burton, Sir Richard Francis (1821–1890)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4136> [accessed 28/4/2015]. Examples of publications: *Goa and the Blue Mountains* (1851); *The Unhappy Valley*, 2 vols (1851); *Sindh, and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus* (1851); *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus* (1852).

by disguising himself as a Sheikh. It was forbidden for non-Muslims to make the hajj, with several Europeans having been caught and killed as a result.[55] Providing a methodological precedent, this act of investigative journalism would have made similar accounts offered by St John to seem more believable. St John relays a story told to him by a friend in which he and his accomplice 'dressed ourselves in the ordinary country working-man's costume, and then had our hands and faces well blackened.'[56] The two men were said to have witnessed the sacrifice of a boy, at which point, due to an 'involuntary exclamation of horror', they had to make their escape.[57] There are vast differences between the two accounts, for example, Burton's is first hand and he went through considerable preparation to pass as Muslim. Nevertheless, the fact that Burton had managed to infiltrate Mecca through disguise made St John's account more credible as Burton offered an established methodology for investigating 'mysterious' religious practices. By implicitly and explicitly drawing on the literature of Africanists, St John's account of Haiti adhered to the perceived 'scientific' standards of his time.

One method St John does cite to substantiate his claims to authority on the subject of Haiti is that of drawing on Haitian sources: '[e]verything I have related has been founded on evidence collected in Hayti, from Haytian official documents, from trustworthy officers of the Haytian Government, my foreign colleagues, and from respectable residents — principally, however, from Haytian

[55] Thompson, 'Burton'.
[56] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, pp. 203–04.
[57] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 207.

sources.'[58] In an examination of travel writing, the anthropologist James Clifford asserts that the traveller regulates the 'outside' (the place being described) for those on the 'inside' (the book's audience).[59] The traveller can mediate and manipulate the information about a place that is passed onto their readers, defining that place for the readership. Following on from this, combined with his supposed 'scientific' approach, St John qualified himself as uniquely placed to espouse 'truths' on Haiti. In describing Haiti, St John could control which sources were mobilised, as well as their relative emphases, due to his privileged position as traveller.

In drawing on the Haitian press and the accounts of Haitians, such as government officials, St John could be implying a belief that Haitian sources were credible and reliable but he deploys these sources simply to undermine them. This is best exemplified in his discussion of the Haitian constitution. Otherwise a statement of Haitian statehood, St John systematically examines its articles as farcical and absurd. For instance, he provides this quote and commentary of Article 192: '"No Haytian or foreigner can claim damages for losses incurred during civil troubles." A most ridiculous article to which no foreign Government has paid the slightest attention.'[60] St John concludes of the Constitution that 'the Haytian Government may be called a despotism tempered by revolution and exile, and occasionally by death.'[61] In a clear act of silencing, St John thus deploys Haitian sources only to deny the value of Haitian ideas of government. Indeed,

[58] St John *Hayti*, 1st edn, p. ix. The Haitian sources that St John cites most often are the local press, such as *Le Vérité* and *La Peuple*.
[59] James Clifford, 'Travelling Cultures', in *Cultural Studies*, ed. by Lawrence Grossberg (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 101–18 (p. 107).
[60] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 271.
[61] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 272.

just five pages after extolling the value of local material, he derides the worth of an article written by an official who, he asserts, was connected with Vaudoux. He elaborates in the accompanying footnote, 'ever since the reign of [Emperor] Soulouque, professional authors have been paid by the Haytian Government to spread rose-tinted accounts of the civilisation and progress of Hayti.'[62]

In regulating Haitian source material for his audience, and framing the book's contents in discussions over the 'Scramble for Africa', St John establishes a certain representation of Haiti as a warning against 'black government' and serves to promote the cause of the British empire. In researching and writing *Hayti or the Black Republic*, St John came to hold a strategic position in the circulation of ideas about Haiti. In this process, he related the significance of the book's content to discussions over 'black government'. But as the book was published and disseminated, St John necessarily relinquished control over the significance of the book. The ideas within *Hayti or the Black Republic* circulated through a broad communication circuit to reach various contexts of readership. As the book was read in these differing contexts, the significance of its contents was negotiated and redeployed. Darnton explains, in his definition of the communication circuit quoted above, this renegotiation of meaning begins with the publisher, who plays a key role in disseminating the book, potentially impacting on where and how the book is read.

[62] St John, *Hayti*, 1st edn, p. xiv.

Publishing and Dissemination: Popular Receptions of *Hayti or the Black Republic*

Although St John drew on the work of scientists to support his assertions, *Hayti or the Black Republic* circulated far beyond the relatively closed network of 'experts' to reach an international audience of informed readers. The fact that the work was supposed to be considered as scientifically rigorous did not necessarily mean it was not intended to have popular appeal. The publishers of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, Smith, Elder & Co, who were certainly interested in the ability of their works to sell widely, were instrumental in disseminating the book across the Atlantic World. Smith, Elder & Co were a very successful publishing house in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was largely due to some shrewd choices of publications. As book historian Bill Bell writes, '[t]he list of names coming to be associated with the firm in these years — Arnold, Trollope, Thackeray, Gaskell, Charles Reade, Wilkie Collins, the Brontës, the Brownings — reads like a who's who of Victorian literature.'[63] Frederick Nesta notes that George Smith, who expanded the business, was heavily involved with the writers whom he published but by the time *Hayti or the Black Republic* was submitted for consideration, Smith was less involved with the business.[64] In his stead was the publisher's reader, James Payn. Payn wrote prolifically, including various short stories as well as articles for the *Illustrated London News* and *The Times*.[65] 'Payn's gift', claims Bell, 'lay at the popular end of the literary

[63] Bill Bell, 'Smith, George Murray (1824–1901)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36138> (accessed 28/4/2015).
[64] Frederick Nesta writes that this was the case for Smith in 1885, at the age of 61. Frederick Nesta, 'The Commerce of Literature: George Gissing and Late Victorian Publishing, 1880–1903' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, 2007), p. 35.
[65] Nesta, p. 35.

market, and under his direction the publishing department continued to extend its sphere of influence in that direction.'[66] Indeed, Payn was less interested in literary value and more concerned with the extent to which a work would sell. Smith said of him that '[l]iterature was his business, exactly as shares are the business of the stockbroker and teas and sugars the business of the merchant.'[67] The concern of the publishers of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, then, was not for its scholarly value but its dissemination in the popular market.

The publishers facilitated the ambition of expanding the book's readership by paying for adverts in *The Times* twice for the first edition, once more for the second edition and twice more in ensuing years in the run up to Christmas.[68] They aimed to increase sales by having a lengthy review run in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, also published by Smith, Elder & Co.[69] *Hayti or the Black Republic* had some success, both nationally and internationally, with its first edition selling all of its 1,250 copies.[70] A further 1,000 copies of a second edition were printed in 1889.[71] Another 1,800 copies were printed in French while many of the English-language copies were sent to the United States (the reception of the work in these national contexts is discussed below).[72] This relatively high print run for the second edition could suggest an optimism on behalf of the

[66] Bell, 'Smith'.
[67] George Smith, cited in Nesta, p. 36.
[68] [Anonymous], 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, 22 October 1884, p. 12; [Anonymous], 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, 24 October 1884, p. 10; [Anonymous], 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, 12 March 1889, p. 12; [Anonymous], 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, 8 December 1890, p. 7; [Anonymous], 'Classified Advertising', *The Times*, 17 December 1895, p. 12.
[69] [Anonymous], 'Black Republic', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 December 1884, p. 4.
[70] Smith, Elder & Co Business Ledgers, National Library of Scotland, Ms. 43219, 339–340.
[71] Business Ledgers, Ms. 43223, 445.
[72] Business Ledgers. Regarding French translation see Ms. 43148; on publication ledgers see Ms. 43519, pp. 59, 339–40 and Ms. 43223, pp. 445, 496.

publishers in response to the reception of the first. As was the norm with books published by Smith, Elder & Co, five copies of each of the two editions were sent to public libraries, broadening the middle and upper class readership beyond those that could afford to buy the book at five shillings.[73] These sales were around average compared to the print runs of other works published by Smith, Elder & Co. For example, where *Some Literary Recollections* (1884) a book of correspondences by James Payn reached 2,000 sales, J. Colbourne's *With Hick's Pasha in London* (1884), an account of a military campaign in Northern Africa, made 1,000.[74]

St John may have harnessed scientific methods to reach an 'expert' audience but St John's credentials, as well as the contents of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, were also valued by the broader reading public. An examination of the reviews of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in the popular press supports this assertion. The *Graphic*, a less expensive rival of the *Illustrated London News*, wrote that the 'author was for a long period her Majesty's Minister Resident and Consul General in Hayti, and had unusually good opportunities for observation.'[75] *John Bull*, a paper with the motto 'for God, the King and the People', concurred, commenting that St John 'is well qualified by a personal experience of over twenty years to form an opinion as to the deterioration of the country in which he treats.'[76] Although St John referenced members of the scientific community, and intervened in a debate over colonial control in Africa, giving his work a

[73] Business Ledgers, Ms. 43219, 339–340.
[74] Business Ledgers, Ms. 43219.
[75] [Anonymous], 'The Reader', *Graphic*, 1 November 1884.
[76] [Anonymous], 'Review', *John Bull*, 24 January 1885, p. 61.

certain prestige and relevance, such authority had an appeal for the popular press.

In these reviews, the significance of *Hayti or the Black Republic* was realigned. The 'truths' that invariably interested the reviewers, and by implication St John's wider readership, were Vaudoux and cannibalism.[77] The review in *John Bull* exemplified this interest:

> His most striking chapter is that which treats of Vaudoux worship and cannibalism, and though he claims to have painted this branch of his subject in its least sombre colours… there is certainly enough in it to make the hair of the ordinary stay-at-home reader stand on end.[78]

Reviewers appear to have revelled in St John's keenness to paint Haiti as a place in the thrall of Vaudoux-based decadence. Perhaps these reviewers were simply taken in by St John's claims, convinced by his displays of knowledge and authority. Yet, the overwhelmingly positive response could also suggest that the broader British reading public shared assumptions not only of the effects of removing imperialism from 'subject races', but also pre-existing notions about the 'Black Republic'. Reports implicating Haiti in the Morant Bay War, and concerning the sinking of the *Bulldog* had helped to substantiate ideas about Haiti as a place in contest with empire (as discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 157–

[77] This is based on a search through *The Times* and the British Library Newspaper databases. The papers that contain reviews of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in this database, other than those already mentioned, are *The Morning Post*, 8 October 1884, p. 2; the *Newcastle Weekly Courant*, 31 October 1884; *Daily News*, 10 November 1884; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 December 1884; *Standard*, 3 June 1889, p. 2.
[78] [Anonymous], 'Review', *John Bull*, 24 January 1885, p. 61.

68). In the run up to the publication of *Hayti or the Black Republic* the British press reported further on diplomatic affrays between Haiti and Britain.[79] Throughout the 1880s Britain expanded its strategy of gunboat diplomacy against Haiti, sending more warships to Haiti than France, the United States or Germany.[80] One visitor to Haiti noted in 1887 that the British were very unpopular as a British ship currently had its guns trained on Port au Prince to seek compensation for the mistreatment of British subjects.[81] A few years earlier, Captain Kennedy, commander of *HMS Druid*, claimed his ship was ordered to Haiti 'to put things straight' as 'outrages had been perpetrated upon foreigners by the Haitian authorities.'[82] Such conflicts regularly appeared in the pages of British newspapers. In the autumn of 1883 a series of articles were published throughout the press concerning an attack on the British steamer the *Alps*.[83] According to the Liberal paper the *Star*, the ship was requested by the British consul to remove some non-combatant refugees, 'all being women and children', from Jérémie. In response, the *Star* reports, Haitian troops fired on the ship

[79] [Anonymous], 'Negro Republics', *Graphic*, 20 October 1883; [Anonymous], 'An Insult For Which British Men-Of-War Will Exact Reparation', *Penny Illustrated Paper*, November 1883, p. 278; [Anonymous], 'The Rising in Hayti', *Wrexham Advertiser*, 30 November 1883, p. 7.
[80] Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershock of History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2012), p. 166.
[81] James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies Or, The Bow of Ulysses* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1888), p. 106.
[82] W. R. Kennedy, *Sport, Travel, and Adventure in Newfoundland and the West Indies* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), p. 388. Kennedy does not state the year exactly and an examination of the British Library Newspaper database does not mention the incident explicitly but does highlight that Haiti was a frequent stop on the ship's tour of the Caribbean. The date of the publication of Kennedy's book indicates that he travelled there before Froude.
[83] [Anonymous], 'Shelling of a British Steamer in Hayti', *Star*, 20 October 1883; [Anonymous], 'Negro Republics', *Graphic*, 20 October 1883; [Anonymous], 'An Insult For Which British Men-Of-War Will Exact Reparation', *Penny Illustrated Paper*, November 1883, p. 278; [Anonymous], 'The Rising in Hayti', *Wrexham Advertiser*, 30 November 1883, p. 7.

leading to an outcry and demand for reparations.[84] The *Graphic* took the opportunity to print an artist's impression of the affair with the title 'An Insult for which British Ironclads will Demand Ample Reparation'.[85]

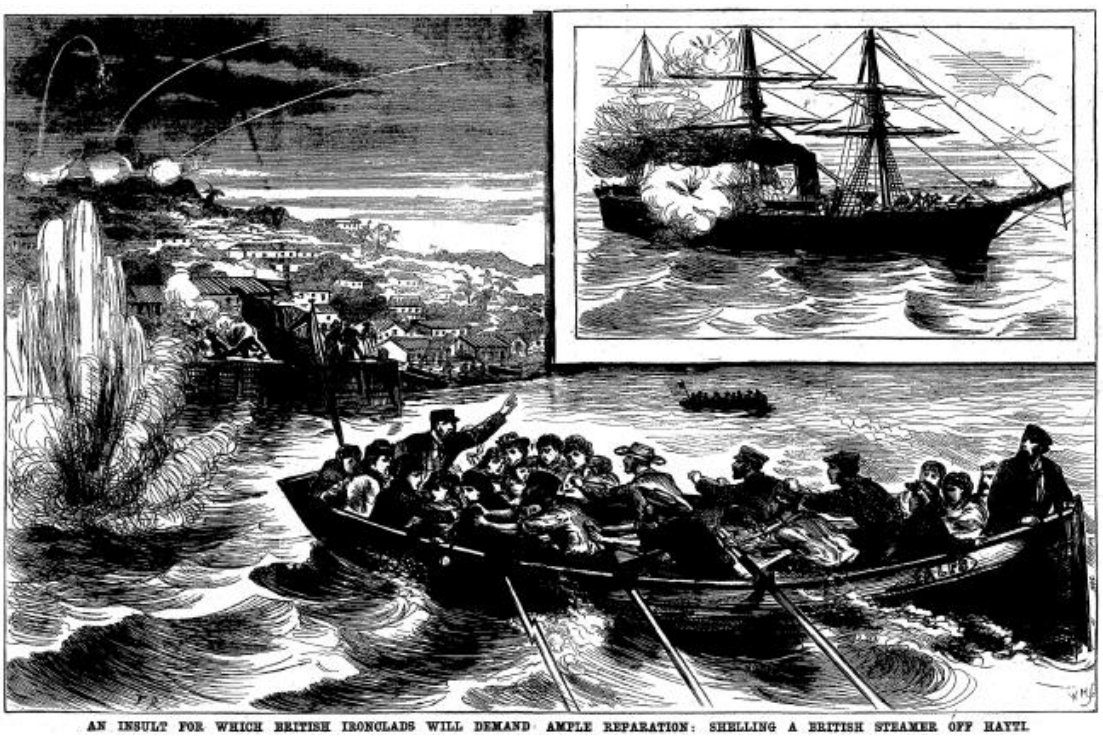

Figure 1: 'An Insult for Which British Ironclads Will Demand Ample Reparation', *Penny Illustrated Paper,* November 1883, p. 278.

As I argue in Chapter Two, the Royal Navy had a particularly strong symbolic power for the British, of all classes, in this period.[86] Considering this, it could be argued that the conflicts between Haiti and British ships took on a broader importance for the readers of the British press. At risk was not so much the

[84] [Anonymous], 'Shelling of a British Steamer in Hayti', *Star*, 20 October 1883.
[85] [Anonymous], 'Negro Republics', *Graphic*, 20 October 1883.
[86] See Chapter Two; Jan Rüger, 'Nation, Empire and Navy: Identity Politics in the United Kingdom 1887–1914', *Past & Present*, 185 (2004), 159–87.

particular ship itself but the question of Britain's right and ability to enforce its supremacy over the waves. The British, however, did not always get complete satisfaction from the Haitian Government for its perceived misdemeanours. As the Captain of the *Druid* told his readers in his travel memoirs, the Haitian Government would not salute the British flag 'as, they said, a rising of the people, and massacre of the whites would be the probable result.'[87] Haiti thus posed a forceful threat to ideas of British supremacy.

On publication, *Hayti or the Black Republic* substantiated the perception that conflicts with Haiti involved a broader contest between 'black government' and British imperialism. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the biggest media uproar of this decade concerning Haiti, namely the imprisonment of Frederick Coles. A British subject born in Haiti, Coles was accused of embezzling funds from his employers, the *Banque Nationale*, in 1887.[88] Although Coles was released under, as *The Times* put it, 'the guns of a British warship', no compensation was awarded.[89] The debate in the press that ensued involved letters from solicitors and Haitian diplomats and eventually worked its way up into the House of Commons.[90] In response to questioning by the Liberal MP Charles Bradlaugh, Sir James Ferguson stated that the Government could demand the release of Coles but not reparations 'on account of his having been put on trial.'[91] For *The Times*, such an answer was not satisfactory. It accused Haitian officials of bribing and intimidating members of the jury, concluding of

[87] Kennedy, p. 392.
[88] [Anonymous], 'Editorials',*The Times*, 6 September 1887, p. 9.
[89] '[Anonymous], 'The Treatment of British Subjects in Hayti', *The Times*, 23 April 1888, p. 4.
[90] [Anonymous], 'British Subjects in Hayti', *The Times*, 8 November 1887, p. 7.
[91] James Ferguson, Commons Sitting, 9 September 1887, House of Commons Hansard.

the Haitian justice system, that 'their complaints may all be summed up in Sir Spenser St John's phrase, "The white has no rights that the blacks need to respect."'[92] As this quote illustrates, St John's work helped to reframe the argument regarding an isolated episode concerning an individual case of imprisonment, to become one about the threat of Haitian courts to the 'white race', justice and law. In the debate over Coles, for *The Times* at least, St John's book gained a particular relevance, informing a debate that took place across broad sections of British society concerning Britain's direct relations with Haiti. In this context, *Hayti or the Black Republic* substantiated the view that Haiti was devoid of appropriate mechanisms of law, instead enacting law according to racial prejudice. This supposed example of 'black rule' legitimated the violence of the British empire as spreading the appropriate systems of law and justice. The popular press joined in with parliamentarians to discuss the appropriate response of the British empire to the Coles affair. At this point, then, popular and elite sections of British society shared in their ideas about Haiti, many of which found support in *Hayti or the Black Republic*.

In its popular reception, then, *Hayti or the Black Republic* was applied to understandings of British-Haitian relations. In this redeployment, St John's argument that Haiti stood as a warning against black government became especially powerful. Haiti was interpreted as providing a direct threat to elements of the British empire, such as its navy as well as its 'white' subjects. In other discussions concerning colonial administration in which *Hayti or the Black Republic* was deployed, St John's ideas about Haiti took on a similar relevance.

[92] [Anonymous], 'The Treatment of British Subjects in Hayti', *The Times*, 23 April 1888, p. 4.

Specifically, *Hayti or the Black Republic* was mobilised in conversations between 'intellectuals', and colonial officials from the Caribbean and Britain over the extension of the franchise in the Caribbean. In these debates, ideas about Haiti contained within *Hayti or the Black Republic* were redeployed as a warning over the loosening of colonial control.

Ideals of British Rule: Receptions of *Hayti and the Black Republic* in the Caribbean

After touring the Caribbean with a copy of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in hand, the historian J. A. Froude concluded in his own travel narrative, *The English in the West Indies Or, The Bow of Ulysses* (1888) that the local black population was incapable of government.[93] For Froude, Britain had 'won' the Caribbean 'by the most desperate struggles… [it was] the scene of our greatest naval glories.'[94] Only the rule of Britain's 'great men' could restore the opulence of the territories and the 'bow of Ulysses', the inspiration for the title of the book, be restrung. Froude delivered his verdict amidst an ongoing debate over the extension of the franchise in the Caribbean. Following the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, Jamaica had been made a Crown Colony, negating the possibility of expanding democracy in the region. The franchise was extended, however, with much caution, in 1884. Matthew Smith comments that 'the Crown was extremely careful to avoid widening the franchise to a large number of blacks, whom they still regarded as

[93] Froude.
[94] Froude, p. 5.

incapable of governance.'[95] Only people of European ancestry could be elected to the Legislative Council, being voted for by 1.3 per cent of the population.[96]

Froude framed his argument about the incapability of the black population through the warning of Haiti, offering a stark choice between 'English administration pure and simple… or a falling eventually into a state like that of Hayti, where they eat babies, and no white man can own a yard of land.'[97] For Froude, St John's account is essential in his estimation of Haiti. Although Froude made his own trip to Haiti — albeit for a matter of hours — he comments 'I could not expect that I on a flying visit could see deeper into the truth than Sir Spenser St John had seen.'[98] Froude further draws on *Hayti or the Black Republic* to argue that Haitian history conclusively revealed that any transference of power in the Caribbean to the black population resulted in abhorrent decadence. St John, writes Froude, 'declared that the republic of Toussaint l'Ouverture, the idol of all believers in the new gospel of liberty, had after ninety years of independence, become a land where cannibalism could be practiced with impunity.'[99] Froude insisted that Haiti provided a warning in the debate over Caribbean government, and in doing so, was heavily reliant on the ideas in *Hayti or the Black Republic*.

In his tour of the Caribbean, Froude sets about 'investigating' St John's assertions over the question of cannibalism in Haiti. In interrogating one American officer on the existence of cannibalism, Froude relates:

[95] Matthew Smith, p. 188.
[96] Matthew Smith, p. 188.
[97] Froude, p. 49.
[98] Froude, pp. 127–28.
[99] Froude, p. 111.

> Spite of Sir Spenser St John, spite of all the confirmatory evidence which I had heard, I was still incredulous about the alleged cannibalism there. To my inquiries, this gentleman had only the same answer to give. The fact was beyond question.[100]

Froude then uses his brief visit to Haiti to affirm St John's thesis. Inspecting the meat at the markets he reports 'I saw no joints of suspicious appearance.'[101] Despite the lack of any direct example of anthropophagy, Froude does provide what he considers as evidence, reporting that he came face-to-face with 'a large menacing-looking mulatto woman, capable of devouring… any number of salt babies.' [102] Froude thus repeats St John's notion that cannibalism was taking place in Haiti. In this different discursive context, in which questions of colonial government in the Caribbean were considered, St John's ideas about Haiti gained a new significance, being deployed as an increasingly potent warning against the enfranchisement of the black population. At stake for Froude was the decadence that would ensue if the black population was granted political power. The very quality of British rule was thereby under threat of giving way to the ascension of the government based on the Haitian model.

Froude's assertions about the unsuitability of the black population for government in the British empire were met with some opposition. The Trinidadian, J.J. Thomas, quickly published a reply to Froude in *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (1889). In the introduction to the book

[100] Froude, p. 99.
[101] Froude, p. 165.
[102] Froude, p. 165.

Thomas points out that Froude intrumentalises Haiti as a threat against enfranchisement. Mocking Froude, Thomas writes that enfranchisement would result in the 'massacre of our fellow countrymen in the West Indies, on account of their race, complexion and enlightenment… the Blacks… shall be revellers, as high priests and devotees in orgies of devil-worship [and] cannibalism.'[103] Thomas then supports his critique of Froude throughout the body of *Froudacity* by systematically highlighting the historian's factual errors and lack of research outside of conversing with fellow colonialists. C.L.R. James, in his introduction to the 1969 edition of *Froudacity*, concurs with the analysis of Thomas and expands on it by detailing Froude's historical errors regarding the Haitian Revolution.[104] Yet, as literary critic Faith Smith has pointed out, Thomas and Froude did not represent simple oppositions.[105] Rather than conceiving of Thomas's work solely as a response to Froude, it is important to recognise the roles of both Froude and Thomas in a broader, Atlantic-wide, debate regarding the definition of British colonial rule.[106]

In Faith Smith's analysis, '*Froudacity*'s critique of imperialist discourse is that it is untrue to the best ideals of English thought.'[107] Although he lived in Trinidad, Thomas had strong links with Britain. His earlier work *Creole Grammar* (1869) received positive reviews in the British press and he was invited to be a

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[103] J.J. Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (London: Unwin, 1889; repr. Hamburg: Tredition, 2006), p. 10.
[104] C. L. R. James, 'The West Indian Intellectual' in *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude*, by J. J. Thomas (London: Unwin, 1889; repr. London: New Beacon Books, 1966).
[105] Faith Smith, *Creole Recitations: John Jacob Thomas and Colonial Formation in the Late Nineteenth-Century Caribbean* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2002).
[106] Faith Smith, p. 86.
[107] Faith Smith, p. 86.

member of the Royal Philological Society.[108] In *Froudacity*, Thomas appealed to the England of 'Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce… the saviours, as well as servants, of society.'[109] But, as Smith points out, he appealed to British sentiment, ultimately, in a commitment to vindicate the black population.[110] Thomas was astute in mobilising questions of appropriate colonial rule to enhance his and his countrymen's position. Throughout his career as schoolteacher and then colonial administrator, as Leah Rosenberg succinctly comments, it 'may not have been a failure of anticolonial critique but rather astute politics that led Thomas to praise one governor, who assisted him, and condemn another, who did not.'[111] The sensitivity that Thomas displayed regarding the political contexts that conditioned his career is also apparent in his writing of *Froudacity*, specifically in his engagement with Froude's portrayal of Haiti.

What is particularly suggestive is that Thomas appears to avoid the ideas contained within *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Rather than question the underlying idea that Haiti was in a state of decadence, an idea that Froude pulled from *Hayti or the Black Republic*, Thomas challenges Froude's deployment of Haiti in the debate over Caribbean government. Indeed, Thomas counters Froude by arguing that Haiti provides an inappropriate example of black government. The founders of the 'Black Republic', he writes,

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[108] [Anonymous], 'Review', *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 31 December 1869, pp. 294–6; [Anonymous], 'Creole Grammar', *Saturday Review*, 26 March 1870, pp. 417–18.
[109] Thomas, p. 166.
[110] Faith Smith, p. 86.
[111] Leah Rosenberg, 'The Audacity of Faith: *Creole Recitations* Explained', *Small Axe*, 35 (2011), 164–73 (p. 167).

> were not in any sense whatever equipped, as Mr Froude assures us they were, with the civil and intellectual advantage that had been transplanted from Europe… [on the contrary] we saw them free but perfectly illiterate barbarians, impotent to use the intellectual resources of which their valour had made them possessors.[112]

A more appropriate illustration for comparison, Thomas suggests, was Liberia.

Thomas's critique of Froude that his comparison of Haiti and the British Caribbean was inappropriate was well received in the British press. The Tory periodical, the *London Quarterly Review*, announced 'we have rarely met a book which so thoroughly combines freshness of view with forcible reasoning as this.'[113] It is the argument that Haiti was an undue comparison that most appealed to the *Graphic*: 'Hayti is by no means the precedent. The Haytians passed at once, wholly untaught and untrained, from cruel slavery to freedom.'[114] Here Thomas emphasised the importance of the difference between the 'gradualist emancipation' that took place in Britain between 1834 and 1838, and the sudden emancipation of Haiti, to enhance his argument for enfranchisement. In the debate between Froude and Thomas, St John's ideas about Haiti are emphasised by Froude and go unchallenged by Thomas. For both Froude and Thomas, the Haitian model of government is to be avoided in consideration of appropriate British rule. The meaning of Haiti as a warning to

[112] Thomas, p. 11.
[113] [Anonymous], 'Froudacity', *London Quarterly Review*, 14, 147 (April 1890), pp 191–94.
[114] [Anonymous], 'The Reader', *Graphic*, 12 October 1889.

British ideals of government is thus crystallised at the same time that Thomas attempts to relegate its importance.

Haiti's relevance to the debate is further challenged by Charles Salmon, the former President of Nevis and colonial secretary of the Gold Coast, who offers a direct critique of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in his political tract *the Caribbean Confederation*.[115] Salmon readily admits that 'no one would care to defend the acts of the Haytian people or their government.'[116] Yet, in his assessment of the underlying causes for Haiti's supposed condition he then argues that St John has provided an inadequate analysis that should not be applied to the debate over Caribbean government:

> [St John] knows nothing of the Africans in Africa, and he apparently thought that those who had practiced pagan ceremonies in Hayti had been formerly Christians. This is an error… But Mr Froude has taken it up… and extended it widely.[117]

Salmon thus joins Thomas in arguing that Haiti is irrelevant for understanding the consequences of government by a black population that had been Christianised. Salmon's argument diverges from that of Thomas in that he provides a more sustained critique of St John's ideas about Haiti. Salmon argues that, as Haitians had never been converted to Christianity, they were not

[115] Charles Spencer Salmon, *The Caribbean Confederation: A Plan for the Union of the Fifteen British West Indian Colonies… With a True Explanation of the Haytian Mystery* (London: Frank Cass, 1971 [1888]).
[116] Salmon, p. 90.
[117] Salmon, p. 90.

regressing away from a 'civilised' state but had yet to be subject to 'civilisation'. Haitians are instead depicted by Salmon as static on the scale of 'civilisation', awaiting the civilising influence of Christianity. After placing the cause of Haiti's undesirable condition in its lack of Christianity, Salmon then argues that the black population in the British Caribbean, having witnessed the effects of Christianity, was indeed capable of government. Salmon thus does not contend St John's descriptions of Haitian decadence so much as its causes and the solutions St John proposed. At a fundamental level, however, both St John and Salmon agree that for Haiti to 'progress', more British influence, at least in the form of Christianisation, was necessary.

In the debate over improving the conditions of government in the British Caribbean, St John's argument that Haiti offers a model of poor government goes unchallenged. The debate centred instead around Haiti's due relevance to the discussion. The argument that Haiti offered a warning for the continuation of colonial control thereby went unchallenged, if it did not necessarily become more forceful due to denials of relevancy made by authors such as Thomas and Salmon. A radically different reception of *Hayti or the Black Republic* is found in France, Britain's colonial rival. Unsurprisingly, readers in France were less interested in promoting notions of British imperialism. For these readers, as I evidence in the next section, *Hayti or the Black Republic* was received as an opportunity to indulge in imperial nostalgia and to examine critically British versions of imperial rule.

The Communication Circuit in the Atlantic World

Whereas Darnton developed the notion of the communication circuit in the French national context, I here demonstrate that *Hayti or the Black Republic* had a transnational and Atlantic-wide circuit. In 1886, a French-language version of *Hayti or the Black Republic* was published in Britain and 1,800 copies were shipped across the Channel under the title *Haïti ou la République Noire*.[118] In the *avant-propos* to the French edition, the editor echoes St John's treatise on Haiti's decadence but frames this in a French nationalist interest:

> Our neighbours across the Channel would not judge matters of politics, colonisation and religion in entirely the same way as us… We do not believe, however, that this is an adequate reason not to provide the French people with a work that depicts so well the sad state in which our former colony, once opulent and prosperous, finds itself so reduced.[119]

As the French editor suggests, *Haïti ou la République Noire* offered the opportunity to the French reading public to understand the results of the removal of French rule in its (former) colonies and the opportunity to engage in imperial nostalgia.

Despite the entwined histories of France and Haiti, there were few French publications on Haiti around this time. Although Marlene Daut clearly outlines

[118] Regarding French translation see Ms. 43148, National Library of Scotland, and Spenser St John, *Haïti ou la République Noire*, trans. J. West (Paris, 1886).
[119] Editor's introduction, *Haïti ou la République Noire*. My translation. Original: Nos voisins d'outre-Manche et nous ne saurions juger absolument de la même façon des faits de politique, de colonisation et de religion…Nous n'avons pas cru, bien au contraire, que ce fût une raison suffisante pour ne pas soumettre au public français un ouvrage qui dépeint si bien le triste état où se trouve réduite notre ancienne colonie, jadis opulente et prospère.

that biographies of Toussaint Louverture were widespread in France in this period, books dealing with broader Haitian history were scarce.[120] Even works that dealt with Louverture did so with some reluctance, as one French author put it: the capture of Louverture by French forces 'will remain in certain respects, for us French people, a painful time.'[121] Indeed, the lack of French publications on Haiti may have suggested an unwillingness to engage with what was perhaps a broader, painful, memory of colonial 'failure'. In lieu of these works, a British writer provided the opportunity to read of the supposed effects of a colony that lost the perceived benefits of French rule.

Haïti ou la République Noire was reviewed favourably in the French periodicals, receiving particular attention from journals with a focus on the sciences.[122] These reviews offer an insight into the imperial nostalgia experienced by some French readers when coming into contact with St John's ideas. One J. Gebelin writes in the *Bulletin: Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux*, that *Haïti ou la République Noire* offers an astute analysis of

> the former colony of Saint Domingue, once so prosperous. The picture is by an honest author, who has observed much and over a long period of time; but it almost makes us despair. By reading this book, one feels the need to have faith in the future and in the magnificent natural riches of

[120] Marlene Daut, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World, 1789–1865* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015). One notable but earlier work that influenced several British writers such as the Baptist Edward Bean Underhil and Spenser St John is Gustave D'Alaux, *L'Emperor Soulouque et son Empire* (Paris, 1852).
[121] Georges François Le Gorgeu, cited in Daut, p. 353.
[122] This assertion is based on a search through the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*'s newspaper database.

> Haiti; as regards the present situation, it is a disappointing spectacle. Riven by revolutions, by political conflicts both petty and bloody, by the hatred between blacks and mulattoes, Haiti is failing everyday… Amongst the evidence presented of this backward step towards barbarism, M. Spenser Saint-John describes the progress of the cult of Vaudoux, that is to say the return of fetishism and even cannibalism.[123]

In lieu of French colonial control, Gebelin infers from *Haïti ou la République Noire*, the perceived prosperity, political condition, and religious morality of Haiti are subject to decay. St John's argument regarding Haitian decadence was thus emphasised by this French reviewer, as it had an additional relevance pertaining to a French nostalgia.

The change in national context, however, also left St John exposed to certain critics who questioned the British consul's credentials. The *Equality of Races* was published in Paris in 1885 by the Haitian scholar and diplomat, and member of the *Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Anténor Firmin. In this work,

[123] J. Gebelin, 'Sir Spenser Saint-John', *Bulletin: Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Bordeaux*, 3 (1886), pp. 414–5. My translation. Original in French: 'l'ancienne colonie de Saint-Domingue, jadis si prospère. Le tableau est d'un auteur sincère, qui a beaucoup et longtemps observé ; mais il nous porte presque à désespérer. En lisant ce livre, on éprouve le besoin d'avoir foi dans l'avenir et dans les magnifiques richesses naturelles d'Haïti ; quant à la situation présente, le spectacle est désolant. Déchiré par les révolutions, par des agitations politiques à la fois mesquines et sanglantes, par les haines entre nègres et mulâtres, Haïti déchoit tous les jours… Parmi les preuves de ces pas en arrière vers la barbarie, M. Spenser Saint-John expose les progrès du culte du Vaudoux, c'est- à -dire le retour au fétichisme et même au cannibalisme.' For other reviews in scientific journals, that give a similiar sense of nostalgia, see 'Haïti ou la République Noire', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lyon*, 16 (1886), p. 252; A. de Preville 'La Colonie de Saint-Domingue', *La Science Sociale Suivant la Méthode de F. le Play,* 3 (1887), 86–91.

Firmin draws on Haiti as an example of the inherent equivalence between 'races'.[124] As Camisha Russell paraphrases Firmin's argument, 'had there been, historically, equality of circumstances, there would be equality of the races.'[125] After highlighting an example of European cannibalism to demonstrate that it was not unique to Haitian history, Firmin, in a footnote and his only reference to St John, writes:

> We wonder whether Spencer Saint-John [*sic*], an Englishman through and through, really thought about it before casting stones at those he labels inferior by highlighting the occasional, indeed rare, case of cannibalism they [Haitians] can be faulted with.[126]

Firmin's implication that St John's 'Englishness' inhibited his ability to competently investigate the subject may have been a play on perceived colonial rivalries between Firmin's French readership and their British adversaries. For Firmin, St John's perceived inability to provide an 'objective' account of Haitians may have suggested a broader inability of the British empire in understanding, and 'ruling' over its subject peoples.

In the quote above, Firmin affirms the existence of isolated cases of cannibalism in Haiti, but he uses it to draw a radically different conclusion from St John. Rather than use the occurrence of cannibalism to support the notion that

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[124] Anténor Firmin, *The Equality of the Human Races: Positivist Anthropology*, trans. by Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002).
[125] Camisha Russell, 'Positivism and Progress in Firmin's *Equality of the Human Races*', *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 7, 2 (2014), 45–67 (p. 52).
[126] Firmin, p. 352.

Haitians inevitably 'regressed' without colonial control, Firmin interprets the practice as evidence of the equality between races: both white and black population had performed it. The scholar of Haitian history and political discourse, David Nicholls, identifies Firmin with a group of Haitian thinkers who extolled the potential benefits of nurturing French 'civilisation' in Haiti.[127] Firmin did not, Nicholls makes clear, advocate French imperialism, but believed that French ideals were best suited to Haitians due to their shared biological make-up. In other words, the perceived French blood that resided in Haitians of mixed-ethnicity meant that Haiti was predisposed to a particularly French type of 'civilisation'. Efforts to promote such civilisation in Haiti had, in 1864, resulted in the trial of eight people convicted of cannibalism and child murder. The president at the time, Fabre Geffrard, seems to have been keen to change the image of Haiti, or at least his government, as nurturing Vaudoux and the perceived related practice of anthropophagy. As Kate Ramsey argues, the trial at Bizoton 'can be understood, at least in part, as an effort on the part of Geffrard's government to repudiate the barbarism relentlessly attributed to Haiti by foreign detractors.'[128] The trial, then, can be seen as an attempt to underscore such perceived episodes of cannibalism as isolated in Haiti, rather than as endemic — this argument regarding cannibalism is maintained by Firmin in the *Equality of Races*.

[127] David Nicholls, 'Race, Colour and National Independence: Some Conflicts and Controversies in Haiti in the Period Salomon to Sam' (unpublished, available at the Alma Jordan Library, St Augustine Campus, UWI, 1972), p. 6 and p. 13.
[128] Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 89.

Contrary to the efforts of the Haitian government, as Michael Dash has highlighted, knowledge of the trial became widespread throughout the Atlantic through *Hayti or the Black Republic*, in which St John deployed it as evidence of cannibalism as pervasive within Haiti.[129] Firmin's critique of St John's accusations of cannibalism did not thus represent a straightforward opposition. Rather than deny the existence of cannibalism and the need for 'civilisation' to remedy it, Firmin appeals to his French readership, arguing that French 'civilisation' in Haiti should be encouraged by Haitians of mixed ethnicity. In France, then, *Hayti or the Black Republic* was received and tested against French, as well as Haitian ideals of 'civilisation'. Here, St John's ideas were challenged according to the perceived inability of the British empire in understanding subject peoples. With its particular 'racial' make-up, Haiti was construed, instead, as in need of more enlightened French versions of 'civilisation' to be introduced through its mixed-ethnicity population.

The communication circuit of *Hayti or the Black Republic* thus spread across the Channel so that St John's ideas about Haiti were considered and reinterpreted in the French national context. As the book was read in France, St John's ideas were both consolidated and contested by respective readers. In scientific forums, the notion that Haiti was in a state of decadence was agreed upon. In the context of French imperial nostalgia, the idea of this decadence took on an additional significance. Others, such as Firmin, attempted to dismiss the book by highlighting its national bias. As the ideas in *Hayti or the Black Republic*

[129] Dash, 'The Trial'. Although the trial did receive some attention in the British press, it was not widespread. For instance, see [Anonymous], 'Superstitious Horrors', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 April 1864, p. 3.

were picked up by various readers in France, St John lost control over the work's significance. His ideas, however, were at times consolidated, even if they were diminished at others.

Copies of *Hayti or the Black Republic* were not only exported to France, but also to a market of interested readers in the United States. The book arrived into a context of tense discussion regarding the enfranchisement of the black population. As Matthew Clavin argues, the continuation of slavery in the United States meant that 'the "horrors" of St. Domingo survived in American memory as a symbol of all that was wrong with abolition and right both about slavery and the white supremacist ideology that helped embed the institution deeply in the republic's foundation.'[130] As Brandon Byrd argues, in the aftermath of the Civil War (1861–65), in which the enslaved were 'emancipated', Haiti continued to play a central role in debates surrounding rights and race. White supremacists, Byrd explains, argued against extending the franchise to the African American population 'by pointing to Haitian religious practices and political upheaval as proof of black inferiority.'[131] In this context, Scribner & Welford imported the book for an informed American readership. After a flurry of positive book reviews, an interview with St John appeared in the *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, asking just one question: 'Does Voudouxism prevail in Hayti now?', St John's response was characteristically authoritative: 'Yes… I knew of a man who sacrificed his own niece, and ate soup made from her head and bones.'[132] As the

[130] Matthew J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 19.
[131] Byrd, p. 2.
[132] [Anonymous], 'Hayti, Voudouism and Cannibalism', *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, 30 March 1886. For other reviews in the US press, see [Anonymous], 'Volcanic Hayti', *The Atchison*

idea of an observably decadent Haiti was cited and discussed in the press on both sides of the Atlantic, older notions about Haiti were consolidated as 'truth'. In the United-States-domestic context, such information could be used in the argument for the continued political exclusion of the black population.

Through his paratext, St John framed his work in reference to the British imperial project in Africa. As it circulated to different national contexts, the significance of the work changed. This does not mean that St John's ideas were necessarily diminished. As Salman Rushdie maintains, meaning is not necessarily lost in translation, but 'something can also be gained'.[133] Indeed, the central argument of *Hayti or the Black Republic* that Haiti was in a state of decadence was emphasised according to different interests in France and the United States. The communication circuit of *Hayti or the Black Republic* thus involved a transnational network of readers. As St John's ideas circulated and were translated in these national contexts, they gained and lost certain significances. St John was able to realign the significance of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in the publication of the second edition in 1889. The author used the second edition to emphasise, and detract from, the various significances given to the ideas in the book by its readers. In particular, St John entered into conversation with Froude to argue for the book's relevancy to the debate over enfranchisement.

Daily Globe, 24 June 1889; [Anonymous], 'Our Cannibal Neighbours', *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 22 June 1885, p. 6; [Anonymous], 'The Black Republic', *St Louis Globe-Democrat*, 26 March 1885, p. 4; [Anonymous], 'The Black Republic', *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 23 March 1885, p. 2; [Anonymous], 'The Black Republic', *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 5 November 1884, p. 9.

[133] Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays, 1981–1991* (Cambridge: Granta, 1991), p. 17.

Conclusion

In the introduction to the second edition of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, the author writes 'I can but join with [Froude] in protesting against according popular governments to those colonies [in the British Caribbean]. I know what the black man is, and I have no hesitation in declaring that he is incapable of the art of government.'[134] St John thus aligns his argument with that of Froude but also claims that Froude's work can be used as evidence for his own. According to St John, Froude was 'an impartial observer' who had noted, regarding the existence of 'serpent worship, and the child sacrifice, and the cannibalism… *There is no room to doubt it* [*sic*].'[135] This suggests that Froude had witnessed conclusive evidence of Vaudoux and child sacrifice. As I argue above, Froude provides minimal 'evidence' of these acts and instead defers to *Hayti or the Black Republic* for confirmation. As St John's ideas moved through the communication circuit from writer to reader and back again, they reappear, in strengthened form (as indicated in the italics), in the second edition of *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Critically, they do so without any further evidence of any kind. The ideas are, as the italics indicate, amplified and engaged in endless cross-reflection, as they move from one context to another.

In this project of consolidating his versions of Haiti, St John was joined by the general reading public. St John acknowledges the interest of his readers for his stories on Vaudoux and cannibalism, by penning that because they 'excited considerable attention… I decided again to look into the question with the

[134] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. xi.
[135] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. xiv. Italics in original.

greatest care.'[136] He does this by adding an extra chapter, 'Cannibalism', to a chapter he already had in place on 'Vaudoux Worship and Cannibalism'. Some of the additional stories published in the extra chapter had appeared in the British press in the intervening period. For instance, one report that appeared in the *Daily News* in 1886, involving two women accused of eating a human, was published as 'an important corroboration of the statements contained in Sir Spenser St John's "Hayti or the Black Republic."'[137] Such narratives as this were picked out of sensationalist media and incorporated into St John's pseudo-scientific work. Having established his authority in defining Haiti due to his previous post in Port au Prince, St John now took to gleaning evidence from less reputable sources. The ideas in *Hayti or the Black Republic* that spread to differing contexts, gaining new relevancies, now converged in the second edition.

As we see above, favourable receptions and supporting statements were easily integrated into the later work. The more critical responses to the book were addressed in a slightly more problematic manner. St John argues that part of the reason for embellishing Vaudoux and cannibalism in the second edition was due to the accusation that his thesis on them in the first edition was unbelievable. I have not been able to find any review in the press that represents this notion.[138] Rather, St John replies to criticisms found in the Haitian press in order to support his original assertions. For instance, the *Moniteur Officiel*, which

[136] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. xiii.
[137] [Anonymous], 'Cannibalism in Hayti', *Daily News*, 12 April 1886.
[138] This is based on a search through the British Library Newspaper Database, *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*
<http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspdigproj/database/>;
<http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive/>;
<http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/guardian/advancedsearch.html> [accessed 6/9/2016].

denied the widespread presence of cannibalism, is quoted by St John as accusing him of spreading rumours about Haiti 'in a curious language of hatred.'[139] In response, St John deploys this denial as evidence 'that every effort is being made to cover this horrible sore, not to cure it.'[140] Haitian sources are thus incorporated into the second edition in much the same manner as the first edition: they are acknowledged only to underscore St John's thesis on Haiti rather than to offer alternative ideas. In the second edition, Haiti is thus increasingly emphasised as on a regressive path due to Vaudoux.

The communication circuit of *Hayti or the Black Republic* was thus highly politicised in a way that enhanced versions of Haiti that supported imperialistic agendas. In this process, knowledge regarding Haiti offered up by Haitians was silenced. The significance of the ideas in the book was interpreted and emphasised or relegated according to the specific context of readership, and the relative agenda of the reader. To some extent, St John surrendered his control over the meaning of Haiti in these instances. Yet, he was able to reassert that control by reframing the relevance of the work in the second edition. The original author thus re-enters the communication circuit in a way that Darnton's original outline of the circuit does not anticipate. In this process St John emphasised or disregarded certain reactions to the first edition. In the second edition, Haiti's meaning was again simplified and consolidated as a warning against 'black' government.

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[139] *Moniteur Officiel* in St John *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 253. There are no copies of the *Monituer Officiel* in the British Library dating from before 1936, nor are there any Haitian newspapers on the Digital Library of the Caribbean dating before 1899 so I have been unable to track down the original reviews of *Hayti or the Black Republic* in the Haitian press.
[140] St John, *Hayti*, 2nd edn, p. 254.

In documenting how St John's thesis was read in various contexts I have shown that ideas about Haiti, and in particular about Vaudoux and Haitian decadence, were part of an Atlantic-wide communication circuit. Various readers deployed the ideas of *Hayti or the Black Republic* to inform conversations concerning colonial control. The communication circuit was, in the case of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, perhaps more complicated than Darnton's ideal model. As meanings contained within St John's thesis travelled to alternative contexts, they were developed by readers in relation to their specific concerns. Despite these varying contexts and concerns, the meaning of Haiti remained consistent and indeed grew more powerful with certain deployments. Where readers preferred versions of Haiti that did not complement St John's thesis, such as that by Firmin, St John ignored them in re-construing the second edition. The meaning of Haiti thus crystallised.

The communication circuit did not end, however, with the completion of the second edition as *Hayti or the Black Republic* continued to circulate around the Atlantic. In 1915, as the US invaded Haiti, the book was still highly influential in creating perceptions of Haiti. As Ludwell Lee Montague argued in 1940, St John 'founded a new school in the reporting of the Haitian scene… [yet] soon [he] had another group of disciples who, caring less for voodoo as a literary device, cherished it as a justification of imperialism.'[141] Indeed, Kate Ramsey finds that Haitians who mounted armed resistance to the US military were, thanks to St

[141] Ludwell Lee Montague, *Haiti and the United States, 1714–1938* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940), pp. 26–27. This argument has also been made more recently by Michael Dash, *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), pp. 22–24; and Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the Great Powers, 1902–1915* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p. 72.

John, suspected of Vodou-related cannibalism.[142] As St John's ideas were deployed in new historical moments, they consistently related to imperial strategies of denigration, becoming especially poignant in 1915.

Through *Hayti or the Black Republic* St John made a crucial contribution to ideas about Haiti in the Atlantic World. He regulated versions of Haiti — through his position as traveller and writer — for a transatlantic network of readers. Significantly, as I have illustrated, this version of Haiti involved the silencing of Haitian knowledge. St John rejected ideas of Haitian independence and government during his time in Haiti and again denied that Haitian knowledge complicated his thesis in the writing of the first and second editions of the travel account. Through these differing techniques, St John silenced the Haitian voice. Crucial in enhancing the 'objectivity' of his descriptions of Haiti was St John's ability to credentialise his account with other 'scientific' sources, rather than employing available Haitian knowledge. In so doing, St John established (and then re-established) his control over the significance of Haiti. He did not, however, retain that control. Following the publication of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, the idea that Haiti provided evidence of decadence, as a consequence of the removal of colonial control amongst people of African descent, became increasingly widespread in the imperial imagination. This is demonstrated in Chapter Four, where I examine the ideas about Haiti in *Hayti or the Black Republic* in relation to three works of fiction. The ideas about Haiti in these fictions were not necessarily taken from *Hayti or the Black Republic* as a direct example of intertextuality but they were, I contend, repeated. Such a

[142] Ramsey, p. 132.

repetition of ideas about Haiti illustrates their powerful presence in the imperial imagination. The awareness of the idea that Haiti acted as warning against the loosening of colonial control did not depend reading a particular text, but instead became a 'stereotype'.

Chapter Four

Domesticating Haiti: *Hayti or the Black Republic* and Representations of Haiti in Nineteenth-Century Novels

Introduction

Percy Adams argues that there is, historically, a close relationship between travel writing and novels.[1] In this Chapter I expand and complicate the argument of Adams by examining the relationship between St John's narrative (the construction and reception of which is detailed in Chapter Three), and its relationship with three works of fiction: Florence Marryat's romance *A Daughter of the Tropics* (1887), Manville Fenn's work of adventure literature *Mahme Nousie* (1891), and George Henty's historical fiction *A Roving Commission, Or, Through the Black Insurrection at Hayti* (1900).[2] The versions of Haiti presented in these novels share in many of the ideas found in *Hayti or the Black Republic*, particularly the notion that Haiti provided an example of decadence.

The way in which the ideas contained in *Hayti or the Black Republic* appear in these novels differs in each case. Both *Mahme Nousie* and *A Daughter of the Tropics* contain common Victorian tropes, such as the civilising mission and the 'monstrous' woman but, it seems, take details from St John's work to give

[1] Percy Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Ketucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p. 148. Edward Said also highlights the connections between travel writing and novels, and the frequency with which novels made allusions to empire. See *Culture and Imperialism* (London: vintage, 1994), p. 73.

[2] George Manville Fenn, *Mahme Nousie*, 2 vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1891); Florence Marryat, *A Daughter of the Tropics* (London: F. V. White, 1887); G. A. Henty, *A Roving Commission; or, Through the Black Insurrection of Hayti* (London: Blackie and Son, 1900).

specific meaning to their narratives. The relationship between Henty's novel and *Hayti or the Black Republic* is made complicated by the fact that Henty provides little evidence that he had read St John's work. Instead, I argue, *A Roving Commission* illustrates that ideas of Haitian decadence were readily available to such writers. The notion of Haitian decadence was a 'stereotype' of Haiti that was not necessarily dependent on a specific text but existed in the intellectual milieu to which Henty belonged. In a study of representations of Haiti in the US context, Michael Dash explains that literature reveals the persistence of a set of stereotypes that also have an ambiguous origin: 'They remain deeply embedded in the unconscious and give shape and direction to fresh experiences that flood the mind.'[3] In historical terms, St John's thesis had consolidated and promoted the notion of Haitian decadence but, it seems, it was not necessary to read *Hayti or the Black Republic* to have such an understanding of the 'Black Republic'. All three novels, then, appear to be the result of 'bricolage' as they were constructed from a range of available ideas about Haiti, as well as Victorian literary tropes. Claude Lévi-Strauss develops this notion of bricolage in relation to mythical thought:

> The characteristic feature of mythical thought is that it expresses itself by means of a heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited. It has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the

[3] J. Michael Dash, *Haiti and the United States: National Stereotypes and the Literary Imagination* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. x.

task in hand because it has nothing else at its disposal. Mythical thought is therefore a kind of intellectual 'bricolage.'[4]

In the case of these novels, I argue that a similar process takes place as the authors assembled narratives regarding Haiti from the knowledge that was available to them, of which St John's work was particularly important.

In Chapter Three, I analyse the various receptions of *Hayti or the Black Republic* to discern the way in which the meanings in the book were repeated and changed as they were interpreted. In this chapter I again examine how ideas about Haiti developed in differing contexts but rather than explore various readerships, I consider the importance of genre.[5] In being repeated in these works of fiction, the ideas about Haiti that are contained in *Hayti or the Black Republic* were, then, ideally suited to a range of literary genres. Taken as a whole, these similar ideas, in differing genres, suggest a consolidation of the meaning of Haiti in the British imagination. Haiti was reinforced as an example of the failure of non-colonised, 'black', places.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the various connections between *Hayti or the Black Republic* and each work of fiction. Although it is not possible to demonstrate examples of direct intertextuality between St John's work and the novels, I illustrate that there was a relationship between these texts that

[4] Claude Lévis-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, trans. by George Weidenfeld (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 17.

[5] Although certain genres are traditionally related to certain readerships ('children's fiction' for instance would widely be read by children), one does not equate the other. In this instance, I have been able to identify certain stylistic conventions and paratexts that connote the genre (and thus may suggest a certain readership) but I have not found substantial evidence of direct receptions of the novels and so cannot fully extend my analysis to include readerships.

suggests a broader cultural currency of Haiti in this period. After establishing the manner in which each of these authors interpreted and deployed ideas from *Hayti or the Black Republic*, I analyse the representation of Haiti in each novel. In *Mahme Nousie*, the threat of Haiti is ultimately reduced as the hero of the novel, Paul, negotiates the Haitian landscape to rescue his love interest Aube. Haiti is here presented as a challenge to British agency that is overcome. In contrast to *Mahme Nousie*, *A Daughter of the Tropics* underscores and emphasises the threat of Haiti, or rather Haitian people, by placing a Haitian housekeeper in the home. In *A Roving Commission,* the threat of Haiti is again reduced in the narrative of the novel. Haiti is presented as a space that is easily pacified by the boyhood hero who traverses the country during the Haitian Revolution. The threat of Haitian decadence is instead found in the paratext, meaning that the ideas in *Hayti or the Black Republic* are used to emphasise the importance of British victory. In these works on Haiti, to which *Hayti or the Black Republic* is clearly important, St John thus once again relinquishes hold over the significance of his ideas about the 'Black Republic'. Such loss of agency, however, is not complete as many of the ideas present in the novels closely resemble those championed by St John.

Reading and Reinterpreting *Hayti or the Black Republic*

There is evidence that Fenn read *Hayti or the Black Republic* as *Mahme Nousie*'s plot structure mimics anecdotes found in *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Specifically, the first volume of *Mahme Nousie*, and much of the second, follows the plot structure of one story in Chapter Eight, 'Religion, Education and Justice'. As the quote below illustrates, St John provides the anecdote to emphasise the

supposed contrast between European forms of education and the lack of that education in uncolonised sites such as Haiti. Both St John's anecdote and *Mahme Nousie* thus provide specific examples of the more general, imperial, trope of the civilising mission.[6] To make explicit the mirroring between the anecdote and the plot structure, I have inserted numbers into St John's account and corresponding numbers in the summary of the plot structure of *Mahme Nousie* that ensues. St John writes:

> Many families who have accumulated a certain amount of wealth by retail trade are desirous of having their children well educated, and therefore send them to France. [1] A Haïtienne of this description placed her daughter at the convent of the Sacré Coer [*sic*] in Paris. After seven years' residence there, she passed a few months with a French family, and saw a little society in the capital. [2] She then returned to Port-au-Prince, was received at the wharf by a rather course-looking fat woman, whom her affectionate heart told her was her mother, and accompanied her home.[3] Here she found a shop near the market-place, where her mother sold salt pork and rum by retail; the place was full of black men and women of the labouring class, who were, as usual, using the coarsest language, and who pressed round to greet her as an old acquaintance… What a contrast to the severe simplicity of the convent, the kindness of

[6] On the civilising mission, see Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Oxford: Polity, 2002); and Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792–1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

> the nuns, the perfect propriety! and added to this the recollection of society she had seen in Paris!... [4] She was but a tender plant and could not stand this rude trial, and sickened and died within the first two months… No wonder, under these circumstances, that every educated Haytian girl desires to marry a foreigner and quit the country.[7]

In *Mahme Nousie*, Fenn embellishes elements of this narrative. Nousie, a Haitian woman (1) sends her daughter, Aube, to Paris from Haiti after her French husband, George, is killed. In Paris, Aube is educated at an idyllic chateau occupied by the Sisters of St Cecil 'where the Superior and her daughters in the faith received *en pension* a few young ladies to educate and share the peaceful calm of the dreamy old place.'[8] (2) After being acquainted with such 'civilisation', Aube returns to Haiti and is met by her mother at the wharf where 'Aube felt repelled by the vulgar aspect of the breathless, panting woman who was suffering from the exertion of mounting the side.'[9] Aube, Fenn describes, 'drew her breath and tried to fight the cruel feeling of shame.'[10] (3) Nousie returns with Aube to her shop, 'about which a crowd of fifty or sixty blacks were gathered shouting and gesticulating and waving bats and handkerchiefs. The greeting was so boisterous that Aube felt scared.'[11] (4) Aube then inexplicably falls ill and dies.

[7] Spenser St John, *Hayti or the Black Republic*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1889), pp. 297–298.
[8] Fenn, I, p. 77.
[9] Fenn, I, pp. 226–27.
[10] Fenn, I, p. 236.
[11] Fenn, I, p. 238.

The plot structure of *Mamhe Nousie* thus far mirrors that of St John's anecdote above.

Of course, the repetition of a plot structure does not necessarily mean that *Mahme Nousie* is directly inspired by this anecdote. In the *Morphology of the Folktale* (1928), Vladimir Propp maintains that each genre is limited to a certain number of plot structures.[12] Both the stories by St John and Fenn follow a classic trope in imperial fiction of the marginal subject going to the metropole, becoming 'civilised' and then returning to the colonies.[13] Fenn is not, then, simply reproducing St John's anecdote in a new genre but is partaking, with St John, in recycling an imperial trope. The resemblance between the two narratives can here be seen in the specificity given to the plot structure, as Fenn clearly takes details from *Hayti or the Black Republic* (not least of all situating the narrative as between Haiti and Paris).

With Aube's death, the narrative of *Mahme Nousie* then deviates from the specific story outlined above. Aube, it transpires is not dead but poisoned into a coma by a local Haitian with the plan of sacrificing her at a Vaudoux ceremony. At this point, Fenn appears to adapt several shorter anecdotes found in *Hayti or the Black Republic* that specifically concern accessing Vaudoux rituals. The hero of *Mahme Nousie*, a young British man named Paul, and his accomplice Burt yield to 'Nousie's wish…[,] adopt the disguise she had suggested… [and] followed her

[12] Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. by Laurence Scott, 2nd edn (Austen: University of Texas Press, 1968).
[13] On classic tropes of imperialism see David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993). This reoccurring trope can be found in, for instance, Edward Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: Arnold, 1978 [1924]; and Paul Scott, *The Jewel in the Crown* (London: Heinemann, 1978 [1966]).

into the forest.'[14] Although donning a disguise to enter 'exotic' religious rituals was a recurrent theme in Victorian travel literature, especially following Richard Burton's entry into Mecca (see Chapter Three), Fenn's description of Paul's infiltration into the ceremony contains many of the specific details given by St John in his stories of European men penetrating Vaudoux services in Haiti. St John describes the practice of poisoning and burying people alive in Haiti, only to be dug up 'for the celebration of some Vaudoux rite of the African fetishism.'[15] He also provides details of three European men that accessed Vaudoux ceremonies. In each of these, the European is taken deep into the forest by a 'local' Haitian and gains entry to the ceremony through disguising themselves as 'natives'.[16] Upon seeing the execution of a child, these witnesses let out, as one witness put it, 'an involuntary exclamation of horror'.[17] Their protest reveals their identity to the crowd and they are forced to make their escape. At the ritual, depicted in *Mahme Nousie*, Fenn repeats this reaction in his protagonist at the moment Aube is presented on stage: '"Aube!" ejaculated Paul in a hoarse whisper.'"[18] Fenn and St John thus relate a second classic narrative of imperialism — that of dressing up to pass as racially other. It seems that Fenn adds nuance to this trope by taking details from *Hayti or the Black Republic* to inform his narrative.

In the conclusion of the ceremony, the plot structure of *Mahme Nousie* deviates from the stories of cross-dressing contained in *Hayti or the Black Republic* as Paul rescues Aube from being sacrificed and they retire to England to

[14] Fenn, I, p. 241.
[15] St John, 2nd edn, p. 237.
[16] St John, 2nd edn, pp. 201–07.
[17] St John, 2nd edn, p. 207.
[18] Fenn, I, p. 246.

marry. Aube thus avoids death a second time. As I detail in Chapter One, Hayden White argues that the plot structure imbues the events within the narrative with a particular significance: 'if by plot we mean a structure of relationships by which the events contained in the account are endowed with a meaning by being identified as parts of an integrated whole.'[19] In light of this, it could be argued that the significance of the events in *Mahme Nousie* are thus conditioned by the plot. Although Fenn mirrors the plot structures of specific anecdotes in *Hayti or the Black Republic*, he ultimately deviates from them — through the rescue of Aube — to reduce the danger of Vaudoux. Vaudoux may well present a threat to the femininity of women such as Aube but through the labours of the British hero, Paul, such a threat is neutralised. As part of imperialism, then, British masculinity is presented as necessary to save women.[20]

Fenn appears not only to have recycled the plot structures of certain stories from *Hayti or the Black Republic* in writing *Mahme Nousie* but also partakes in St John's description of Haiti as a place experiencing decadence. In *Mahme Nousie*, decadence seemingly affects all aspects of Haiti, just as St John argues in *Hayti or the Black Republic*. Following the death of Nousie's French husband, George, the narrative does not return to Haiti until Aube's homecoming. During this time, Vaudoux has become rampant, attracting politicians such as Paul's adversary Saintone, who claims that it will aid him to 'take a big place in government… [as] black votes are as good as coloured.'[21]

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[19] Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 8.
[20] On the perception that empire 'rescued' women from other cultures see Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. by Rosalind Morris (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 21–64.
[21] Fenn, I, p. 110.

There is an implication in this assertion regarding the enfranchisement of the black population in the Caribbean as outlined in the second edition of *Hayti or the Black Republic*. In both St John's work and this fictional retelling, Haiti provides a warning against expanding the franchise amongst the black population lest practices of fetishism influence government.

Such decadence can also be perceived in the fate of Nousie during Aube's absence. As Aube arrives in Haiti, she discovers her mother is not the 'lady' that sent her to France in the wake of George's death but a shop owner, a 'queen among the half-civilised people.'[22] The 'old pleasant life of a colonist's lady', Fenn explains 'had rapidly dropped away.'[23] The death of Nousie's husband thus forms a central aspect of the plot as it coincides with the onset of decadence. Although George is killed in battle during what is simply described as one of Haiti's 'many revolutions', the fact that decadence ensues suggests that his death is a metaphor for the removal of the French authorities and the beginning of Haitian independence. Indeed, it is significant that it is a paternal figure who is removed from the narrative. As Catherine Hall maintains, the family was perceived as of central importance to the stable growth of empire.[24] For the Victorian writer Anthony Trollope, at least, the breaking up of the family structure could, Hall explains, result in gender violations: 'when women stepped out of their place they lost their femininity, became another species.'[25] Patriarchy and paternalism,

[22] Fenn, I, p. 271.
[23]Fenn, I, p. 271.
[24] Catherine Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire', in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Claire Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 180–99 (p. 191).
[25] Hall, 'Going a-Trolloping', p. 193. For a Freudian discussion of colonial family romance in the French empire, see François Vergès, *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and* Métissage (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999).

then, was not only seen to safeguard against the violation of gender ideals, but also to maintain the racial qualities of British people. In Nousie's case, the loss of the paternal figure appears to result in a dilution of her French qualities to become 'more black'.

Indeed, the appearance of decadence in *Mahme Nousie* is not only indicated through the upsurge in Vaudoux and Nousie's fall in social standing but is also suggested by the changing descriptions of Nousie's 'race'. In the opening scene, Fenn describes Nousie (at this point the wife of George) as 'a handsome quadroon girl'.[26] Following George's death and Aube's departure, Nousie turns into the 'unattractive' figure who welcomes Aube home, and is now described as a member of 'the black race'.[27] The process of decadence as symbolised by the supposed changing of skin complexions is represented in Nousie who turns from an attractive spouse into a 'black' woman, repulsive even to her own daughter. 'Scientific' constructions of racial category are thus employed by Fenn in the novel to help the reader perceive the supposed process of Haiti's decadence.[28] This corresponds with St John's notion, as outlined in *Hayti or the Black Republic*, that the 'blackening' of the population and the regression of civilisation are correlative: 'in fact, the coloured element, which is the civilising element in Hayti, is daily becoming of less importance… constant intermarriage is causing the race to breed back to the more numerous type.'[29] The population was, for St John,

[26] Fenn, I, p. 1.
[27] Fenn, I, p. 142.
[28] For an analysis of 'scientific' ideas being deployed in Victorian literature see Clinton Machann, *Masculinity in Four Victorian Epics*: *A Darwinist Reading* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). For a broader discussion on the representation of people of African heritage in Victorian literature see David Dabydeen, *The Black Presence in English Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
[29] St John, 2nd edn p. ix.

becoming increasingly 'black' and with it 'civilisation' was moving backwards. Nousie, then, represents symbolically the process of decadence and the decadence that follows the removal of colonial control. *Hayti or the Black Republic* and *Mahme Nousie* are thus joined in their description of Haiti as a warning against the removal of colonial control over a black population, as it results in a society regressing from civilisation.

Marryat's *A Daughter of the Tropics* does not seem to share plot structures with *Hayti or the Black Republic* but does import details regarding the practice of Vaudoux. In this romance novel, a Haitian housekeeper, Lola, attempts to court her employer, Kerrison. As he rejects her advances and turns to another love interest, named Lily, Lola resorts to Vaudoux and tries to poison Lily, but accidentally kills Kerrison. In the final paragraphs of the story, Lola fears the discovery of her crime and throws herself into the sea, sinking 'beneath the thick green waters', returning her soul 'into the hands of One more merciful.'[30]

The greatest indication that Marryat read and deployed aspects of St John's work is her description of Lola's mother and grandmother, with whom she consults on matters of Vaudoux. Marryat names Lola's mother Claircine de Pellé. According to St John, Claircine was the victim of alleged cannibalism that became known in the 'West' through the Bizoton trial in which eight people were found guilty and executed. Congo Pellé, her maternal uncle, was the supposed leader in the plot. The trial had taken place some twenty years before the publication of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, in 1864, and was greeted with some interest in the British press. A report in *Reynolds's Newspaper* names both Claircine and Congo

[30] Florence Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 25 December 1897, p. 2.

Pellé when detailing the supposed cannibalism.[31] Yet, as I argue in Chapter Three, the British media did not broadly cover the trial. Instead, as historians Michael Dash and Kate Ramsey maintain, the trial became well-known across the Atlantic World through the account in *Hayti or the Black Republic*.[32]

As St John made this trial famous and detailed the names of those involved only a few years prior to the publication of *A Daughter of the Tropics*, it seems that Marryat's fictional representation has obvious linguistic and onomastic resonances with *Hayti or the Black Republic*. The author embellishes this association by detailing the grandmother's past as involving ritual sacrifice: Lola's mother tells her that her grandmother 'has seen live victims immolated on their altars' / [Lola responds] And eaten them too, I daresay.'[33] It is Lola's grandmother, a '*maman loi*', or 'Vaudoux priestess', who provides Lola with the poison that she uses to try to kill Lily and court Kerrison for herself. Through its description of threats to the home, *A Daughter of the Tropics* related to a broader anxiety in late-Victorian Britain, as outlined by Judith Walkowitz: 'the prevailing imaginary landscape of London shifted from one that was geographically bounded to one whose boundaries were indiscriminately and dangerously transgressed.'[34] Rather than relegate the warning of Haiti as outlined by St John, it is radicalised in *A Daughter of the Tropics* as something that could transgress to enter the domestic space.

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[31] [Anonymous], 'Superstitious Horrors', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 April 1864, p. 3.
[32] Michael Dash, 'The Trial That Gave Vodou a Bad Name', <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-trial-that-gave-vodou-a-bad-name-83801276/?no-ist> (accessed 20/8/2015); Kate Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); see also Chapter Three in this thesis.
[33] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 30 October 1897, p. 2.
[34] Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London: Virago Press, 1992), p. 34.

George Henty, author of *A Roving Commission; Or, Through the Black Insurrection at Hayti* (1900) does not seem to have directly incorporated either details or plot structures into the narrative of his novel. This story involves tropes about Haiti that are emphasised in *Hayti or the Black Republic* as well as information garnered from Henty's historical research. The version of Haiti then presented by Henty is the result of bricolage. The story focuses on a young naval officer, Nat Glover, and his adventures during the Haitian Revolution. In gathering information about the Revolution, Henty appears to have read Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805) in which the author is in Haiti during the outbreak.[35] Rainsford's narrative provides a markedly different account of Haiti to that of St John. Although the Haitian revolutionaries were defeating and evicting the British forces when Rainsford was present on the island, his account of the 'brigands', as he terms them, is relatively sympathetic. Rainsford attests:

> It is on ancient record that negroes were capable of repelling their enemies, with vigour, in their own country; and a writer of modern date has assured us of the talents and virtues of these people; but it remained for the close of the eighteenth century to realise the scene, from a state of abject degeneracy: to exhibit, a horde of negroes emancipating themselves from the vilest slavery, and at once filling the relations of

[35] Marcus Rainsford, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti,* ed. by Paul Youngquist and Grégory Pierrot (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013).

> society, enacting laws, and commanding armies, in the colonies of Europe.[36]

Rather than the decadence argued for by St John, Rainsford depicts the Revolution as the beginning of an organised society, and state, in Haiti.

Henty suggested that he had read either *An Historical Account* and *Hayti or the Black Republic* or books similar to them when he explained his method for writing historical fictions in an interview published posthumously:

> when I have once fixed… on the epoch… I send up to a London library and procure ten books on the subject. I glance through these. Perhaps only two of them will suit my purpose… Thus equipped I am able to start off on the story without having to pause to look up at information.[37]

Henty may well be referring here to the London Library that holds original copies of both *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* and *Hayti or the Black Republic*, and now contains only four holdings concerning Haiti published before 1900.[38]

Henty does not reference Rainsford but it is suggested that he had read *An Historical Account* as he takes certain statistics from the account. For instance,

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[36] Rainsford, pp. 5–6.
[37] Henty, cited in Peter Newbolt, *G. A. Henty 1832–1902: A Bibliographical Study of His British Editions with Short Accounts of His Publishers, Illustrators and Designers, and Notes on Production Method Used for His Books* (Aldershot: Scholars Press, 1996), p. 556.
[38] This is based on a search of the London Library's catalogue: <http://pmt-eu.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?vid=44LON_VU1&reset_config=true> [accessed 25/06/2016].

Henty declares that, following Nat's departure from Haiti and the deployment of British forces in Haiti,

> after four or five years fighting, and the loss of fully thirty thousand men, by fatigue, hardship and fever, the effort was abandoned, after having cost some thirty millions of money.[39]

Although, as historian David Geggus has detailed, various estimates of the numbers of losses and financial costs associated with the British campaign during the Haitian Revolution were made throughout the nineteenth century, the figures provided here match those from Rainsford's *An Historical Account*.[40]

Henty's consultation of primary sources may have resulted in an image of Haiti in *A Roving Commission* that contrasted, as well as overlapped, with that found in *Hayti or the Black Republic*. The increasing professionalisation of history, and the related practice of consulting archival material, appears to have led to the resurgent importance of Rainsford's work, and with this a competing version of Haiti. Henty was joined by other late-Victorian students of Haiti in drawing on Rainsford for an account of the early years of the Republic. The traveller E. A. Hasting Jay, for instance, who toured the Caribbean but was unable to disembark at Haiti, provides a history of the island (1900).[41] He references Rainsford in the following depiction of Louverture: 'Toussaint L'Ouverture, the saviour of his people, will always be remembered as one of the grandest and

[39] Henty, p. 382.
[40] Youngquist and Pierrot, p. 246. For these figures see the General Introduction, p. 36.
[41] E. A. Hastings Jay, *A Glimpse of the Tropics, or Four Months Cruising the West Indies* (London: Sampson Low, 1900).

most pure-minded champions of the cause of freedom that the world has ever seen.'[42] The central importance of Loverture in *A Roving Commission* contrasts with St John's account of the Haitian Revolution in which the significance of Louverture is not emphasised. The notion of Haitian decadence championed by St John is, though, found in Henty's paratext. Ideas about Haiti in these two works, then, both contrast and parallel one another.

The use of primary sources meant that Henty's fiction was thus designed to be instructive of the past for its readership. Indeed, in summarising Nat's adventure, Henty remarks, 'for full details of these and other actions, a search must be made in the official records of the British navy, where they are fully set forth.'[43] A search of the catalogues at the British Library, National Archives, National Maritime Museum and Rif Winfield's *British Warships in the Age of Sail* and David Syrett's *Commissioned Sea Officers in the Royal Navy* finds no mention of a Nat, or Nathaniel, Glover, nor any of the ships he commands throughout *A Roving Commission*.[44] Whether these exact details are correct is perhaps beside the point that Henty is trying to make. By citing the archives, Henty's narrative is endowed with an historical accuracy that gives it a pedagogical aspect. That the work is to be read as historically accurate is emphasised in the books' paratext.

In the preface, Henty glosses the historical significance of the events contained within the narrative:

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[42] Jay, p. 192.
[43] Henty, pp. 382–83.
[44] Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail 1793–1817*, 2nd edn (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2008); David Syrett, *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy 1660–1815* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994).

> Horrible as were the atrocities of which the monsters of the French Revolution were guilty, they paled before the fiendish outrages committed by their black imitators in Hayti… Nowhere were the slaves so well treated as by the French colonists, and they soon discovered that, so far from profiting by the massacre of their masters and families, they were infinitely worse off than before… [now] the condition of the negroes in Hayti has fallen to the level of that of the savage African tribes.[45]

In this paratext, Henty provides a simple warning of the dangers of slavery, despite arguing for the 'benevolence' of the French system. Enslavement here thus becomes an example of French colonial mismanagement. Central to this warning is Henty's notion that the 'black imitators' may partake in 'atrocities' against their respective colonists.

As opposed to St John's use of the paratext discussed in Chapter Three, Henty does not reference 'authorities' on Haiti but instead uses it to signpost the historical significance of his narrative. The preface to Henty's work, then, suggests that the narrative of the novel is to be read as historical fiction. For Paul Wake, the paratext is essential for differentiating the genre of historical fiction from other types of fiction. The paratextual materials in such works, Wake explains, act as 'invitations to read, invitations that establish "proper reading practices."'[46] In other words, the paratext is necessary to introduce the fiction as pertaining to a historical 'reality'.

[45] Henty, pp. v–vi.
[46] Paul Wake, '"Except in the Case of Historical Fact": History and the Historical Novel', *Rethinking History*, 20, 1 (2016), 80–96 (p. 81).

As a genre, historical fiction, as Gyorgy Lukacs argues, is defined by its inclusion of specific historical characters or events.[47] Significantly, this type of writing grew up, Lukacs maintains, in the wake of the Napoleonic wars in which the 'concrete possibilities for [people] to comprehend their own existence as something historically conditioned, for them to see in history something which deeply affects their daily lives and immediately concerns them.'[48] For Lukacs historical fiction provided a way for people to comprehend their, and their nation's, relation to historical change. In the context of the later-nineteenth century, *A Roving Commission* is consistent with this genre as it provides a commentary on Britain's empire in the Caribbean. Furthermore *A Roving Commission* details the British hero's struggles against both Haitians and colonial rivals, so that it gives an impression of the role of Britain's empire on the world stage.

The 'ideal reader' of Henty's fictions was the young and adolescent boy.[49] Susan Suleiman contends that the ideal reader 'differs from an actual reader in that he is created by the work and functions, in a sense, as the work's ideal interpreter.'[50] In this instance, the notion of the ideal reader supports the argument that *A Roving Commission* was designed to be read not only as entertainment, but also as a form of education. The didactic purpose of the novel

[47] Gyorgy Lukacs, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah Mitchell (London: Merlin Press, 1962).
[48] Lukacs, p. 24.
[49] Both John MacKenzie and Kelly Boyd provide detailed analyses of Henty's ideal reader as being boys. See John Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boy's Story Paper in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[50] Susan Suleiman, 'Introduction', in *The Reader in the Text: Essays*, ed. by Susan Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3–45 (p. 8).

was at least emphasised by a review in *The Times*: 'in describing the atrocities of the Black insurrection in Hayti, Mr. Henty has broken almost virgin ground and consequently has written a tale that is as instructive as it is entertaining.'[51] Henty thus displays Haiti for instructive purposes, introducing it as a terrain through which threats to the British empire, and appropriate responses (such as an exertion of manly heroics discussed below) are assessed.

In pertaining to historical fact, and drawing on primary sources, such as *An Historical Account*, Henty's work can be seen to employ a specific type of bricolage method. Unlike *Mahme Nousie* and *A Daughter of the Tropics* that appear to take specific ideas from St John as well as broader Victorian literary tropes to construct their narrative of Haiti, Henty uses a diverse range of primary material to inform his novel. The effect is that Henty presents a complicated version of Haiti in which the Revolution is not presented as threatening, and yet subsequent Haitian history is described as a warning against loosening colonial control.

Whereas Henty explains the supposed long-lasting results of the Revolution on Haiti in the preface in the same terms as St John, the body of the narrative itself is free of the warnings of decadence or its accompanying threat of Vaudoux. Henty's retelling of the Revolution is thus one of straightforward victories for the British hero over various assailants. St John's ideas about Haitian decadence are thus ignored in the narrative of the story but they are present in the preface to frame the novel as providing a powerful warning of the loss of colonial control over the black population. Considering the ideal reader of

[51] [Anonymous], 'Christmas Books', *The Times*, 3 November 1899, p. 15.

A Roving Commission, this warning from history is designed to inform a boyhood audience on the correct forms of colonial control.

The ideas in *Hayti or the Black Republic* were thus supported in differing ways in these fictions. Although there is no evidence of a direct intertextuality between *Hayti or the Black Republic* and the novels, it is clear that St John's thesis was important for these fictional representations of Haiti. In the case of *Mahme Nousie* and *A Daughter of the Tropics*, *Hayti or the Black Republic* appears to have offered certain details that helped to give specific meaning to more generic plot structures and to emphasise the danger of the margins of empire. The representation of Haiti in *A Roving Commission* appears to be informed by competing information on the Revolution to that provided by St John. Nevertheless, the trope of Haitian decadence deployed in the paratext invites the reader to perceive the Revolution as an originary moment in Haiti's supposed civilisational regression. Each of the novels, then, emphasises Haiti as a warning against a certain type of colonial control. Although St John may have lost control of the meaning of Haiti as it was discussed in these fictions, his central concern that Haiti should provide a warning is repeated. The representation of Haiti also changes, however, in these books as it is shaped to fit the respective genre. Beginning with an examination of *Mahme Nousie* I now turn to an analysis of these varying representations of Haiti.

Haiti and the Hero in Adventure Fiction

Mahme Nousie centres on the efforts of a British hero, Paul, who pursues Aube to Haiti. In studying the stylistic convention of the story, it is possible to decipher the genre to which it belongs. In an examination of Victorian adventure literature, the historian Kelly Boyd gives the following synopsis of the typical 'manly' hero:

> The hero who emerged was upper class, athletic, arrogant and chivalrous. He travelled the world in search of adventure, sometimes as a functionary of the imperial state, at other times as an independent pursuer of profit. Most heroes were young men, between the ages of 15 and 30. Often they were bereft of family or at least geographically removed. None were married but sweethearts were seldom far away. As exemplars of manliness they were superb.[52]

According to Boyd's definition, Paul can be seen as a typical heroic figure. He is a young British artist living in Paris, his family is not discussed in the narrative and he travels to Haiti in pursuit of his 'sweetheart', Aube. He is thus an exemplar of manliness.

I use the term 'manly' here rather than 'masculine' because, as historian of gender John Tosh argues, 'masculinity' is a term that resonates in the twenty-first century, being 'mediated through class… ethnicity and… sexuality.'[53]

[52] Boyd, p. 51.
[53] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities: Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 3. For an assessment of the fluidity of Victorian masculinities see Herbert

'Manliness' was a Victorian ideal that was something to be attained. Tosh argues that ideas of manliness were defined in relation to empire in two ways towards the end of the nineteenth century. First, that the colonies needed a strong show of manliness to keep them in check, demanding that their defence 'needed more men, and better men.'[54] Second, that the empire offered a source of manliness, a place where British men could earn credentials that were increasingly difficult to acquire in the metropole due to, for instance, the rising numbers of women entering the work place.[55] Manliness was, then, an ideal that the heroes of adventure literature moved towards and eventually achieved as they defended the expansion of empire and sourced a personal manliness through their accomplishments. In *Mahme Nousie*, Paul achieves his manliness by traversing Haiti's threatening landscape and rescuing Aube.

Ideas about Haiti were thus ideally suited to the genre of adventure literature. Richard Phillips argues that ideals of manliness were 'mapped' in Victorian adventure stories.[56] The narrative, Phillips explains, acts as a site through which the boy advances. As the hero traverses the space of the foreign land, simultaneously moving through the story, they encounter various obstacles and opportunities. With the accomplishment of their tasks, the hero thus gains a respective aspect of manliness. Readers of these fictions, Phillips explains were enticed by 'the world(s) they might find, the adventures they might have, the

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Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[54] Tosh, p. 194.

[55] Tosh, p. 205.

[56] Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). For an assessment of manliness being taught in schools, see Stephen Hawthorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880–1914* (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

kinds of men and women they might become.'[57] With this in mind, the depiction of Haiti in *Mahme Nousie* can be seen as a particular space that conditions ideals of manliness by providing certain threats, such as Vaudoux and ritual sacrifice, which Paul overcomes. Paul's accomplishment of manliness in this pseudo-imperial space thus represents the success of the British empire in the face of a perceived decadent black society.

It is not the success of empire(s) generally that is emphasised in Paul's achievement but specifically that of the British empire and its heroes. Whereas Nousie's French husband dies at the beginning of the narrative, meaning that Nousie falls into a state of decadence, the rescue of Aube suggests the prowess of British heroes over their French counterparts. Kelly Boyd asserts that such adventure heroes were forged

> in contrast to those less able to achieve true manliness due to lower status at birth, the corruption of age, or the taint of foreign origins. These antagonisms reveal the way masculinity was delineated as British, classbound and inborn.[58]

In light of this, the failure of Nousie's 'foreign' husband contrasts with Paul's, that is Britain's, success. Indeed, as Tombs and Tombs argue, in Britain the French were frequently represented as passive and effeminate in the nineteenth century.[59] In this instance, the supposed feminine passivity is depicted to result

[57] Phillips, p. 3.
[58] Boyd, pp. 52–54.
[59] Isabelle Tombs and Robert Tombs *That Sweet Enemy: From the Sun King to the Present* (London: William Heinemann, 2006).

in the removal of European influence from the island.[60] The failure of French imperialism sets Haiti on the path of decadence, resulting in the death of Nousie, who is fatally wounded at the Vaudoux ceremony. The depicted racial, and civilisational, regression, and then death of this character demonstrates the 'barbarism' that has resulted from Haiti's decadence and provides a moral imperative for Paul to enter Haiti and perform the rescue. As a symbol of the British empire, Paul's heroism validates the British imperial mission of policing colonial space not only over 'subject peoples' but also against imperial rivals.[61]

The success of Paul, and the British empire, over the threat of Haiti is conditioned by the genre and readership of the adventure story**.** John MacKenzie, J.S. Bratton, and Kelly Boyd have all argued that such adventure stories acted as propaganda for empire. Aimed at a boyhood audience, they espoused the virtues of duty, personal responsibility and patriotism.[62] Bratton has paid particular attention to the didactic role of these fictions. Their simplified and yet preferential versions of empire and its various forms of violence, Bratton asserts, worked in tandem with British public schools in a process of 'indoctrination' (Bratton's term).[63] Fiction provided another facet of this process of 'indoctrination' by making the exploits of empire become present in the

[60] For a discussion of the ideals of femininity see Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 200); and Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Croom Helm, 1982). I provide a further discussion of these ideals below.

[61] On the imperial mission see Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage, 1978).

[62] Mackenzie; J. S. Bratton, 'Of England, Home and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction', in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. by John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 73–93; Boyd.

[63] Bratton, p. 76. See also Patrick Dunae, 'Boys Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870–1914', *Victorian Studies*, 24, 1 (1980), 105–21.

imagination of the child, with an overwhelmingly positive bias: 'The elaborated idea of the school itself, or of the battle, or the expedition, when set in the ideal and shapely world of art, may be far more potent than the messy and unsatisfactory reality.'[64] Adventure fiction thus helped to prepare pupils for the challenges of empire. For such readers of *Mahme Nousie*, Haiti is presented as a potential challenge of empire, a place that is available for conquest and control due to the gender, class position and nationality of these public-school readers.

The ideal reader of adventure literature can be expanded beyond the confines of the public school. Kelly Boyd argues that these stories were aimed at a much broader audience of middle-class male adolescent readers.[65] This is supported in relation to *Mahme Nousie* by an examination of the book's reception in the press. *Mahme Nousie* was widely advertised, particularly in the *Morning Post* and the *Standard*, both distinguished for their detailed news on foreign places.[66] The novel was well received with reviewers generally agreeing that the scene and plot of the story, rather than its character development or its prose, were its best features. 'The most impressive of these [scenes]' wrote a reviewer for the *Daily News*, 'is the description of a Vaudou [*sic*] meeting… the appearance of the huge serpent, the drink and madness of the dark folk, the pale woman

[64]Bratton, p. 76.
[65] Boyd, p. 3. For an analysis of popular literature see Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).
[66] For details of the *Morning Post* and the *Standard* see the British Library Nineteenth-Century British Newspaper Database <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspdigproj/database> [accessed 15/8/2015]. It was advertised in the *Morning Post* on the following dates: 29 September 1891, p. 6; 3 November 1891, p. 6; 13 November 1891, p. 7; 20 May 1892, p. 11; 23 May 1892, p. 11; 31 May 1892, p. 10; in the *Standard* on: 8 October 1891, p. 7; 10 October 1891, p. 7; 23 May 1892, p. 9; 22 June 1892, p. 9; in the *Graphic* on 31 October 1891; and the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 12 December 1895.

drugged for the sacrifice, make up a haunting scene.'[67] Although it has not been possible to recover details of the novel's print runs or the publisher's ledgers relating to *Mahme Nousie*, such reviews are an indication that the book was to be read by a popular boyhood audience. The readership of *Mahme Nousie* was increased as its first volume ran as a serial in the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, a local newspaper, under the title of 'A Golden Dream'. In the run up to its feature, it was advertised thus: '"A Golden Dream" opens in the lovely volcanic island of Hayti, with its gorgeous natural scenery and its strange mingling of races and interests. The romance which has evolved is, like its locations, brilliant and unusual.'[68] Although the stylistic conventions of *Mahme Nousie* suggest that it is a work of adventure literature, this advert indicates that it may also be considered as a romance as it appeared in the popular press. The two genres in this instance appear to overlap as the story's hero both ventures through Haiti and pursues a love interest.

The *Bristol Mercury* will have had a particular interest in publishing *Mahme Nousie* as it served a city with an economy closely tied to the fate of empire. In particular, its port was built on Atlantic trade, as was its ensuing industrialisation.[69] The story of a waning Haitian society traversed by a boyhood hero was seen to be, it seems, of particular interest to those keen on teaching their children of the potential threats to empire that must be challenged.

[67] [Anonymous], 'Novels', *Daily News*, 26 December 1891.
[68] [Anonymous], 'Advertisements and Notices', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 28 March 1891.
[69] University of the West of England, 'Industrial Change in Bristol Since 1800', <http://humanities.uwe.ac.uk/bhr/Main/industry/2_industry.htm> [accessed 15/8/2015].

The evidence of newspaper serialisation and advertisement suggests that *Mahme Nousie* was designed to reach a broad readership of middle-class teenage boys interested in the heroics of agents of the British empire over their adversaries. In this context, St John's ideas about Haiti as a place of decadence that threatened British ideals of civilisation were used as a pedagogical tool. Within the context of the British metropole, Haiti was commodified as it was deployed as an example of the prowess of British heroics in mitigating such threats to the British empire. Although St John related this warning to imperialism in Africa and then enfranchisement in the Caribbean, it here serves as a lesson regarding the general moral imperative of the British empire. The importance of appropriate colonial government to the protection of the domestic space is emphasised in *A Daughter of the Tropics*.

The Threat of Haiti in the Domestic Space

In Marryat's novel, Haiti is used to emphasise external threats to the domestic space. In this work of romance, Lola, a Haitian housekeeper of lower-class status attempts to court the owner of the house and her employer Kerisson. She uses Vaudoux, and attending techniques of poisoning, to attack her rival in love, Lily. Lola's plan goes awry and she mistakenly poisons Kerisson, rather than Lily. In this narrative, then, Haitian Vaudoux enters home with fatal consequences to highlight the supposed need of protecting the borders of the homestead and of empire.

Lola embodies a number of elements made dangerous as she enters the domestic space (of both Britain and Kerrison's home). Lola is ambiguous in

terms of her racial and class status, as well as displaying a perceivably wayward sexuality. As Anne McClintock highlights, this was a common association in Victorian Britain: race, class and gender 'are not distinct realms of experience… Rather, they come into existence *in and through* relation to each other.'[70] Lola was of lower class background as her family resided in the docklands of the east end of London, an area populated by the 'scourges of society', such as 'seamen, navvies, Chinamen and West Indian negroes.'[71] These origins are unbeknownst to Kerrison. Indeed, such is Lola's persona that Kerrison's friends proceed to mistake her as the lady of the house. Lola is thus able to pass as middle-class and ladylike. The Haitian here represents the dangers of crossing not only the boundaries of the domestic threshold but also of class. In this instance, the threat of traversing class barriers is underpinned by threats in empire and beyond. McClintock argues that for Victorians, it was considered a 'forbidden meeting across social limits' for servants to pursue their employer and vice versa.[72]

Nor are Lola's racial origins clear to Kerrison who understands only that she has 'black blood in her', supposedly accounting for her temper.[73] This implies that Lola was of 'mixed race'. Postcolonial critic Robert Young points out that notions of such racial 'hybridity' were, towards the end of the nineteenth

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[70] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 5.
[71] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 14 August 1897, p. 2. On the scourges of society see Walkowitz.
[72] McClintock, p. 132.
[73] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 7 August 1897, p. 2. The notion that women from the colonies were prone to being temperamental is apparent in other nineteenth-century fictions. The character of Bertha Mason in *Jane Eyre* provides one such example. See Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (Edinburgh: Grant, 1924 [1847]).

century, suggestive of both biological and social degeneracy.[74] Young argues further that

> anxiety about hybridity reflected the desire to keep races separate, which meant that attention was immediately focused on the mixed race offspring that resulted from inter-racial sexual intercourse, the proliferating, embodied, living legacies that abrupt, casual, often coerced, unions had left behind.[75]

In light of this, Lola represents a double anxiety in the sense that she is the result of 'mixed-race' reproduction and as she endeavoured to attract Kerisson. Lola's pursuit of the male character may well, then, be seen to indicate a fear of contagion as not only is the homestead infiltrated but there is a threat of 'dangerous' sexual practice. The British family is at risk of becoming racially 'impure'.[76]

Equally, Lola's gender is threatening as she occupies Kerisson's domestic space. Historians Kimberley Reynolds and Nicola Humble argue that, in the late-nineteenth century, the relation of a woman to the domestic space was fundamental to defining her sexuality and, in turn, her femininity: 'The amount of time and attention given to promoting and legitimating the doctrine of separate

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[74] Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 19.
[75] Young, p. 25.
[76] On contagion, see Rod Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). On the relation of defining the 'purity' of the national domestic space, and gender ideals, against the empire see Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

spheres of influence and codes of morality for men and women implies a fear that sexuality was in need of control.'[77] Tied into Lola's racial and sexual threat is her purported beauty. Lola's unruly sexuality is made apparent throughout the narrative, by referring to aspects of her excess of beauty: 'Lola's rich, tropical charms… overpowered more delicate beauty and thrust it into the shade.'[78] Although beautiful, Lola is undesirable as a spouse. Such an over-sexualised persona represents the disruptive femininity found in the Victorian notion of the 'fallen woman', as described by Reynolds and Humble: 'there is, clearly, a fundamental paradox at the heart of Victorian notions of female sexuality, that sees the female ideal as "naturally" sexless, and the fallen woman as "naturally" libidinous.'[79] Lola's 'natural libidinousness' has its origins in her racially conceived 'tropical charms' as well as her hidden lower class status.

Lola's 'monstrosity' is not simply defined by her Haitian origin but fits in with what Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar term an 'eternal type' of representation of women in Victorian literature.[80] Gilbert and Gubar explain that, although these types take many forms, they can be reduced to a monster-angel split. Whereas the latter was most typically identified as the 'angel in the house', the monster woman threatens 'to replace her angelic sister, embodies intransigent female autonomy and thus represents… the mysterious power of the character who refuses to stay in her textually ordained "place" and thus

[77] Kimberley Reynolds and Nicola Humble, *Victorian Heroines: Representations of Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Art* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p. 6.
[78] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 16 October 1897, p. 2.
[79] Reynolds and Humble, p. 49.
[80] Gilbert and Gumar, p. 19.

generates a story that "gets away" from its author.'[81] The idea that a woman was threatening in her uncontrollability was, then, a common trope in Victorian literature. In *A Daughter of the Tropics*, Haiti serves to give a specificity to that trope. Lola's Haitian origin emphasises the uncontrollable nature of the female character.

Both Lola's 'race' and her sexuality are contrasted against that of her romantic rival, Lily, whose name suggests her complexion as 'white' as well as potentially indicating notions of innocence and virginity. Whereas Lola's sexuality is unruly and dangerous, that of Lily is consistently understated as she rebuffs Kerrison's advances and proposals for marriage. Kerrison appears to be attracted to Lily because she is imbued with an appropriately 'ladylike' character; he remarks 'she seems a gentle, refined and ladylike sort of girl to me.'[82]

Lola becomes what Jenny Sharpe may term the 'subaltern shadow' to Lily, in that she serves to emphasise the correctness of Lily's 'ladylike' femininity.[83] Lola further accentuates this contrast as she attempts to poison Lily to win Kerrison for herself. Lily thereby becomes the intended victim of an unruly, foreign, femininity. In *Allegories of Empire,* a study of representations of British womanhood in the Sepoy Rebellion (1857), Sharpe points out that British female victims were nearly always 'ladies'. [84] Sharpe writes that 'the *English lady* circulates as a sign for the moral superiority of colonialism under threat of native

[81] Gilbert and Gumar, p. 28.
[82] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 18 September 1897, p. 2.
[83] Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p. 12.
[84] Sharpe, p. 68.

insurrection.'[85] In British public opinion, Sharpe continues, the perceived rape of these women came to be a violation of the institution of Victorian womanhood, legitimising the violent and often gruesome, retributions dealt out by the British army against the mutineers. [86] In the light of this, Lola's, and by extension, Haiti's, attack on Lily can be seen as an assault on British femininity. Returning to McClintock's argument that notions of gender, class and race mutually reinforced one another, Vaudoux is deployed as a means through which lower-class, racially 'other' women could assail their counterparts, challenging ideals of manliness and its ability to control such femininity. Lola's acts of violence thereby provide a powerful warning regarding the appropriate policing of borders — both imperial and domestic. In *A Daughter or the Tropics*, then, the warning of Haiti as described by St John is redeployed to lay emphasis on the importance of such boundaries.

Although it has not been possible to find in the press contemporary reviews of, or adverts for, *A Daughter of the Tropics* (sources that often suggest what genre the novel belongs to), it can be considered a work of romance due to the centrality of the love affairs. According to Marryat's biographer, the author wrote 'primarily popular romances for women.'[87] It seems that the female readership was, then, the ideal reader of *A Daughter of the Tropics*. Kate Flint argues that the view that men and women reacted differently to reading was prevalent in Victorian Britain. Such a view, Flint maintains further, invoked a discussion of what women should read: 'much, though certainly not all,

[85] Sharpe, p. 68. Emphasis in original.
[86] Sharpe, p. 64.
[87] Jean Neisius, 'Marryat, Florence (1833–1899)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 30/7/2016].

discussion about women's reading was conservative in its gender politics. Whether conducted by men or women, this discussion was very frequently used to uphold and reinforce dominant patriarchal structure.'[88] Writing aimed at women readers, then, had to be sensitive to Victorian gender politics. The threat of Haiti displayed through Lola is used in *A Daughter of the Tropics* to outline correct types and style of femininity, and indeed 'manliness'

Lola's uncontrollable femininity thus presents a fatal threat to the 'manliness' of Kerrison who is unable to police the borders of his household. Implicit in this is the demand to better control the space of both the home and the empire through an assertion of manliness. Haiti is thus gendered as a feminine space in contrast to the 'manliness' of British imperial forces. Marryat suggests a need for this control when she has Lola ask her mother whether cannibalism ever existed in Haiti; her mother answers, 'they do it to this day *chérie*. The Vaudoux religion and cannibalism are one and the same thing. And as long as the English government take no notice of it, they will continue so.'[89] The assertion that only the 'English government' could put a stop to Vaudoux, and thus the violation of the domestic space by foreign threats, legitimates the British imperial mission. Indeed, the death of Kerrison implores the consolidation of the empire to safeguard British subjects. There is also a suggestion, through Lola's suicide, that the empire would be beneficial to the threatening, foreign, people: the vanquishing of Vaudoux, and its attendant practice of poisoning, may well have prevented Lola from killing Kerrison, thus removing the motive for her self-immolation.

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[88] Kate Flint *The Woman Reader 1837–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 10.
[89] Marryat, 'A Daughter of the Tropics', *Cheshire Observer*, 30 October 1897, p. 2.

The policing of the borders of the domestic space, through an assertion of manliness, may have been particularly important to the readers of *A Daughter of the Tropics*. A section of this readership experienced the novel through the press as it ran as a bi-weekly in the *Cheshire Observer*. This county's relationship with empire has yet to be fully established by historians. Yet, it was geographically situated between two cities, Liverpool and Manchester, that John MacKenzie points out as being intimately tied to imperial trade.[90] The port of Liverpool, in particular, served as an entrepôt of empire at the end of the nineteenth century. Empire formed a major aspect of its economy, with many of its MPs supporting privileges for imperial trade, not least due to their vested interests.[91] Moreover, as a port, Liverpool, along with London, acted as a focal point for immigration from empire. The serialised republishing of Marryat's work in Cheshire, then, suggests that the story was perceived as potentially attractive to a readership keen to understand foreign threats to the domestic space. In this representation, Haiti served to accentuate such threats. Through the publication of this romance in the localised popular press, St John's description of Vaudoux potentially reached a radically different readership from those that read *Hayti or the Black Republic*.

Marryat's novel was not the only text to detail the threat of Vaudoux aimed at a largely female audience. H. Hargrave explained the role of Vaudoux in

[90] John MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Cultures', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, *Volume Three: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Andrew Porter and William Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 270–91 (p. 271).
[91] Murray Steele, 'Transmitting Ideas of Empire: Representation and Celebrations in Liverpool, 1866–1953', in *The Empire in One City? Liverpool's Inconvenient Past*, ed. by Sheryllyne Haggerty, Anthony Webster and Nicholas J. White (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 133–50.

the Haitian Revolution to a seemingly similar audience in the *Ladies' Treasury: A Household Magazine*:

> though we may pity their [followers of Vaudoux] folly, we must not forget the danger of their assemblies, for in them were composed those terrible potions which poisoned the flocks and the streams, striking men with death and madness. It was in these assemblies that they organised that terrible revolt which, on the night of August 26, 1791, surprised the colony of St. Domingo, transforming the scattered slaves into furious hordes.[92]

That such a warning should appear in this magazine that was, 'expressly intended to illustrate and uphold "each dear domestic virtue, child of home"', indicates that the safeguarding of empire from the unruly religion of Vaudoux was vital for the protection of the home.[93]

The warning of Haiti in Marryat's fiction served to justify the imperial mission. St John emphasised Haitian decadence as a warning against the loosening of colonial control. Yet, St John relinquished control over the significance of Haiti as it is deployed in *A Daughter of the Tropics*. In emphasising the threat of Haitians and the practice of Vaudoux to the more proximate

[92] H. Hargrave, 'The Worship of Vaudoux, or the Serpent', *The Ladies' Treasury: A Household Magazine* (1888), p. 202.
[93] For this quote and details of *Ladies' Treasury: A Household Magazine*, see the British Library Nineteenth-Century Periodicals Database, <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspdigproj/database/> [accessed 30/7/2016].

domestic space, the warning of Haiti intensified in Marryat's novel. Haiti is repeated as a warning against the loosening of colonial control (as St John argues) but the consequences become more intimate and immediate as they move from the colonial space and into the home.

Haiti in Historical Fiction

In contrast with this heightened threat, the warning of Haiti is once again contained in Henty's work of historical fiction. In *A Roving Commission*, much like *Mahme Nousie*, the Haitian landscape is depicted as a set of challenges that test the virility of the British hero, Nat. The depiction of Haiti differs in this novel as Henty relates his narrative to historical fact, as outlined in the paratext. Despite discussing the numbers of British troops later lost in Haiti, the hero at the centre of *A Roving Commission* easily traverses the Haitian landscape. Whereas Fenn focuses on the moral imperative of the British empire in negotiating the threat of Haiti, Henty provides a more militaristic hero who commands the Haitian landscape. The onus in *A Roving Commission* is on the historical ability of the British empire to defeat its adversaries.

Nat, who is sixteen, and a midshipman on H.M. Frigate the *Orpheus*, as the Haitian Revolution breaks out, overcomes increasingly larger obstacles: he defeats a dog, a 'big mulatto', several Haitian insurgents, a colony of pirates, a French galleon. He is duly promoted following these victories throughout the story before returning to Britain with a fortune. This was typical of the 'Henty hero', who Boyd suggests offered a version of manliness 'that focused on individualism, arrogance and mastery of the people around you; it did not

esteem equality, the process of learning, or the skills of others.'[94] Yet, as challenges to the British empire accelerated towards the end of the nineteenth century, particularly in Africa, Henty's stories evolved so that, as MacKenzie postulates: 'his racial and militaristic views had hardened by the time of his last imperial works [such as *A Roving Commission*].'[95] Although formulaic, Henty's stories changed in accordance with developments in the empire. In turn, the manliness of the hero was conditioned differently, becoming increasingly masterful of the various imperial settings.

The broader political context of proliferating conflicts in West Africa raised questions over the ability of the British to enforce empire on the region. In Britain, these military failures led to a reassertion of the need for manliness in the empire. Historian Catherine Anderson notes that as British forces suffered heavy losses in, for instance, the Zulu Wars (1879), images of British men in empire emphasised an increasingly dogmatic form of manliness: 'Society expected Victorian men to keep their emotions in check, even under such extreme circumstances [as Zulus attacking with wild abandon]; emotiveness was considered effeminate and uncivilised, and therefore unmanly.'[96] A controlled and rational manliness at home and abroad was seemingly considered as the best response to threats to, and within, empire.

The notion that Henty's versions of the hero were born out of the shifting experiences of empire is supported by a review of Henty's career. As a war correspondent for the *Standard* he reported on conflicts in Prussia, Russia,

[94] Boyd, p. 45.
[95] Mackenzie, p. 210.
[96] Catherine E. Anderson, 'Red Coats and Black Shields: Race and Masculinity in British Representations of the Anglo-Zulu War', *Critical Survery*, 20, 3 (2008), 6–28 (p. 19).

Abyssinia and, in particular, West Africa where he witnessed the Wolseley Campaign (1873), 'one of the most thunderous battles between the Ashanti and the British.'[97] His experience here directly inspired the work *By Sheer Pluck* (1884), in which he describes Africans as extremely lazy, a problem only remedied by European paternalism.[98] In the run up to the publication of *A Roving Commission*, British forces had suffered various defeats in Africa that were reported in the British press, such as the 'Disaster at Benin' (1897), the 'Hut Tax War' in Sierra Leone (1898) as well as the early stages of the South African War (1899).[99]

In the context of faltering British forces in Africa, Henty emphasises the virtues of British manliness in *A Roving Commission*. Sine he represents the British empire, Nat's heroic deeds are not simply self-beneficial but are also depicted to aid the 'local' population. As opposed to his French and Spanish adversaries, Nat is a fervent abolitionist, freeing a group of enslaved Africans from their Spanish-speaking captors. Although dubious of Nat and his crew at first, the freed enslaved 'came to the conclusion that their new captors were really friends, and with the light-heartedness of their race laughed and chattered as if their past sufferings were already forgotten.'[100] Abolitionism and emancipation remain a British enterprise, rather than being considered as a joint aim between Nat and the (ex)enslaved-in-revolt against their 'masters'. The

[97] Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 86.
[98] Logan, p. 86.
[99] [Anonymous], 'Disaster at Benin', *Morning Post*, 13 January 1897, p. 5; 'Massacre at Benin', *Morning Post*, 26 February, p. 6; Immanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, trans. by Ann Keep (London: Mehthren, 1974), p. 174.
[100] Henty, pp. 58–59.

(ex)enslaved insurgents become Nat's adversaries and do not appear to harbour the ambition of emancipation. For instance, when Myra, Nat's love interest, asks 'Why do [the enslaved revolutionaries] want to kill us?' Nat responds, 'Because they are really nothing but savages.'[101] The potential rationale of the enslaved in the Revolution is ignored in the narrative so that the logic of fighting against Nat, and the British empire is denied. The history of Britain in transatlantic slavery is retold as purely one of emancipating enslaved Africans through heroic acts of valour. The memory of abolitionism was, as historian John Oldfield maintains, a 'usable past' in the context of late Victorian imperialism as it was emphasised as a reflection of 'honour on the British nation, as well as its commitment to freedom, justice and equality.'[102] In light of this, the notion that the history of British involvement in the Caribbean constituted a moral campaign is thus given 'factual' validation through Henty's historical narrative.

For Henty, Haitians lack the manly qualities that characterise Nat. As a symbol of the British empire, his manliness contrasts against the perceived absence of that of Haitians, suggesting the benefits of British influence. There is one exception to this depiction of Haitians. Henty follows Rainsford's assessment of Toussaint Louverture as an exceptional military leader and statesman. Rainsford writes:

> The beneficent and able black, Toussaint L'Ouverture [*sic*], devoid of the extraneous policy of the governors of ancient states… evinced equal

[101] Henty, p. 129.
[102] John Oldfield, *Chords of Freedom: Commemoration, Ritual and British Transatlantic Slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 88.

> talents for the arts of peace, with those which he had invariably displayed in the field; and the mercy which had ever accompanied him in victory, now transformed itself in a mild and humane policy in the legislature.[103]

In *A Roving Commission* Henty explores Louverture's charitable character when Nat appeals to the Haitian leader for aid. Nat learns that Louverture had helped his French plantation owners during the fighting, and set up a school 'where he is always busy attending the wounded.'[104] Louverture thus reveals aspects of his own heroism in helping European would-be adversaries.

Louverture's manliness is most apparently demonstrated when another leader of the Revolution, Georges Biassou, interrupts a meeting between him and Nat. Biassou is described by Henty as a 'black man of almost gigantic stature and immense strength', who wants to kill any white man that falls into his hands.[105] Louverture stops Biassou from attacking Nat, by explaining 'you have only rendered yourself ridiculous' and reminding him that he is drunk.[106]

[103] Rainsford, p. 140.
[104] Henty, p. 298.
[105] Henty, pp. 316–17.
[106] Henty, p. 308. For a discussion on alternative versions of manliness attributed to the colonial 'other' see Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Barbarians: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 36 (2008), 205–25.

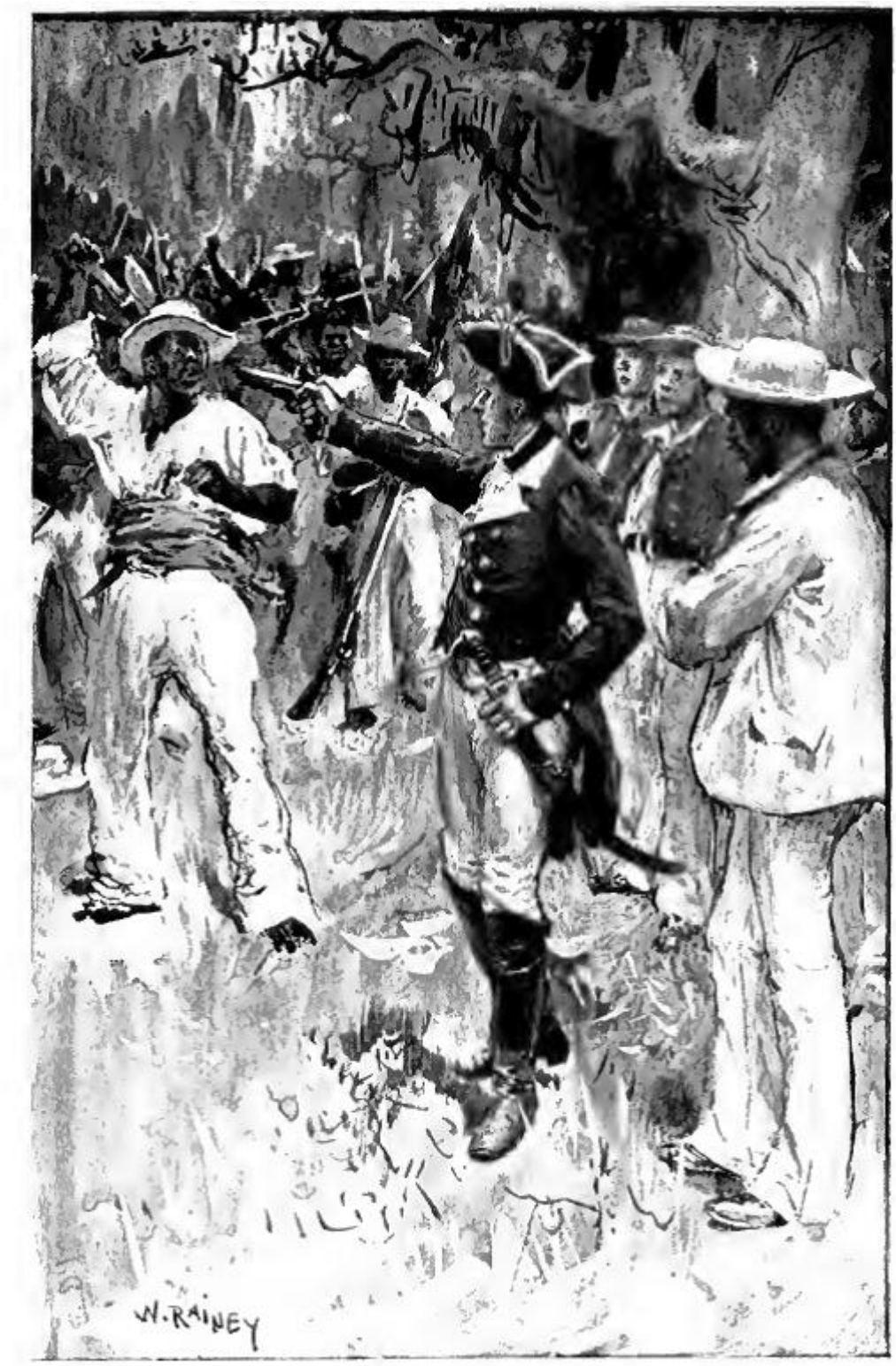

Figure 1: Louverture (right), Nat (centre) and Biassou (left) in Henty, *A Roving Commission*, p. 308.

Louverture then appeals to Nat for help from the British in a statement reminiscent of St John's thesis of decadence:

> our troubles are only beginning. We have had no training for self-government. We shall have destroyed the civilization that reigned here, and shall have nothing to take its place, and I dread that instead of progressing we may retrograde until we sink into the condition in which we lived in Africa.[107]

Portraying the Haitians as victims of the Revolution, Louverture is ascribed a manliness due to his ability to perceive the supposed danger of a lack of colonial control. This complicates Louverture's position as he is technically fighting against French and British colonial forces. Henty resolves this, tentatively, by explaining that Louverture hoped to dictate the Revolution from within. As Louverture states, although the uprising is terrible, 'it makes it all the more necessary that those who have some influence should use it for good.'[108] Louverture stands out as an exception in *A Roving Commission* as the only non-British person to have any semblance of manliness. The notion that Louverture was exceptional is consistent with representations of him throughout the nineteenth century. As I discuss in Chapter One and Chapter Two, Louverture was seen to embody the successful elements of a Revolution that ultimately led to the failure of Haitian independence. Such a notion is conveyed in *A Roving Commission* not only through descriptions of 'savage' fellow revolutionaries but

[107] Henty, p. 315.
[108] Henty, p. 168.

also in the introduction to the book that outlines the decadence that followed the Revolution. Louverture's exceptionality thus acts as a rhetorical device that, by contrast, emphasises the 'savagery' of the other Haitians, such as Biassou.

Louverture's exceptionality highlights another trend in *A Roving Commission*: the importance of the actions of the general Haitian population and of Haitian history are ignored. The Revolution, and its participants, are subsumed into a broader narrative of British victory. Unlike *A Daughter of the Tropics*, where the perceived Haitian quality of Vaudoux serves to emphasise the threat of Lola, Haitians are here depicted as a generic black population. This was, at least, the impression formed in the mind in one of the book's readers. The historian, A.J.P. Taylor commented in *The Times* in 1974, after being asked to nominate three books that made the deepest impression on him in childhood, 'all the works of Henty. A *Roving Commission* was the best of them, very frightening and full of colour prejudice.'[109] In Henty's historical fiction, then, Haiti becomes a surrogate, a means through which broader ideas about British imperialism over black populations are voiced.

Conclusion

The authors of the fictions analysed in this chapter appear to have been aware of notions of Haitian decadence. Examining the relationship between *A Roving Commission* and *Hayti or the Black Republic* reveals that these ideas were not only available through St John's text but were part of a broader imperial imagination. St John lost control of the significance of the ideas contained in

[109] A. J .P. Taylor, cited in Newbolt, *G. A. Henty*, p. 343.

Hayti or the Black Republic as they were deployed in these genre. At the same time, St John's view that Haitian decadence provided a warning against the loosening of colonial control was consolidated as it was presented in these genres. This idea about Haiti, then, became a stereotype, to return to Dash's notion, as it was available beyond any specific text and instead existed as a cultural reference point that aided in the rationalisation of colonial control.

St John was clearly of central importance in establishing and promoting this view of Haiti. As I discuss in Chapter Three, the method that he deployed to emphasise the credibility of his depiction of Haiti relied to some extent on ignoring and rejecting Haitian knowledge. As the idea of Haitian decadence became a stereotype, the silencing of Haitian knowledge, and competing versions of Haiti, was repeated. The cultural depictions of Haiti found in these fictions converged with the 'expert' view of St John so that alternative visions of Haiti were erased. The power of the idea of Haiti as presenting an anti-imperial threat, as I discuss in the next chapter, was understood not only by 'imperialists' but also by colonised subjects.

Chapter Five

Vive Dessalines: The Spectre of Haiti

Introduction

This thesis has detailed representations of Haiti in an analysis of the nineteenth-century British imagination. It has shown that Haiti was consistently considered as a warning against certain types of colonial control, and was perceived as evidence for the exceptionality of the British empire. In this Chapter the analysis is extended to consider the relations between this dominant view of Haiti and the way in which colonised subjects thought about, and could (or, rather, could not) mobilise it in claim making. The chapter begins by analysing discussions of Haiti in the British government, where the 'Black Republic' was understood to represent a violent anti-imperialism. Such an interpretation of Haiti was emphasised during the celebrations of the centenary of Haitian independence, in Haiti, in 1904. In the commemorations, the memory of Dessalines as the vanquisher of foreign opposition was underscored. This version of Haiti circulated not only between British diplomats but also in travel narratives and the British press. The chapter then turns to an examination of the Pan-African Conference that took place in London in the summer of 1900. This forum was called by the Trinidadian lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams to address the perceived abuses of imperialism towards people of African descent. The proposed solution to such 'malpractice' was to 'improve' the operation of empire through suggesting a programme of reforms to imperial powers and, in particular, the British government. Pan-Africanism, in this historical moment, was not radically anti-imperialist but worked to improve living conditions within

the confines of empire.[1] As an example of black people in government, and of anti-imperial activity, Haiti was forcefully relevant for the themes of this conference, and yet went undiscussed. Although I cannot provide direct evidence of the delegates strategically avoiding discussions of Haiti in their presentations, my contention in this chapter is that Haiti, both historical revolutionary Haiti, and Haiti at the beginning of the twentieth century, was considered in the imperial imagination to suggest an anti-colonialism that was threatening to the theme of the conference. I argue that the delegates avoided discussing Haiti at the conference in part due to the extent to which it was associated with anti-imperialism in the British imagination, especially amongst the British colonial administration.

In detailing the interplay of ideas about Haiti between colonised subjects and imperialists, I outline the parameters within which Haiti was thought about by demonstrating that both groups understood Haiti as a threat. Despite the difference between colonisers and colonised, as Robert Darnton argues in relation to eighteenth-century France, 'all of us, French as well as "Anglo-Saxons," pedants as well as peasants, operate within cultural constraints, just as we all share conventions of speech.'[2] Much as Darnton documents in his

[1] The notion that the delegates at the conference sought to work within empire through recommending reforms, rather than to oppose empire itself is supported by Frederick Cooper in his analysis of claim-making by colonised subjects, as well as by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Huskins in their broader examination of Pan-Africanism, and Marika Sherwood, whose monograph provides the most in-depth and focused analysis of the Pan-African Conference. See Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Philip Morgan and Sean Huskins, 'Blacks and the British Empire: An Introduction', in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Huskins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1–34; Marika Sherwood, *Origins of Pan-Africanism: Henry Sylvester Williams, Africa and the African Diaspora* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011).

[2] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984), p. 6.

intellectual history, this chapter highlights the extent to which, despite socio-economic power structures, cultural reference points could be shared and understood by different groups.

Although the effect of colonialism was often to produce a dichotomy of coloniser and colonised, these early Pan-Africanists serve to demonstrate the complexities in the processes of imperialism.[3] They are not simply defined by their colonised status but as privileged subjects of empire, the delegates shared in an elitist language of empire. Amongst their ranks were Christian-spiritual leaders, legal experts, diplomats, academics, politicians and medical doctors. As elite leaders, the delegates at the conference, I contend, sought to intervene in processes of empire not only to better the living conditions of people of African descent but also to 'improve' imperial administration itself. As opposed to my argument in Chapter Two, I do not here deploy the notion of the 'communication network' to examine how certain ideas moved between people. As is clear in Darnton's work, and in my discussion in Chapter Two, the 'communication network' critiques the movement of knowledge between, as Darnton terms it, 'networks of friends'. In this Chapter I analyse a more complicated set of relationships conditioned by the power relations of empire. The delegates, and their agenda of reform, can be considered not as in stark opposition to the discourse of imperialism analysed in previous chapters, but in conversation with it.

[3] Edward Said's notion of 'othering' was central to this process. In a criticism of Said, Homi Bhabha emphasises the way in which the empire constituted identity in the metropole, often in unwelcomed ways. In this sense, in the process of imperialism, the dichotomy of colonised and coloniser is broken down as each constituted the other. See Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage, 1978); Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004).

I refer to Haiti's clear significance for the conference and yet near absence in discussion as its 'spectrality'. As I detail in the Introduction, I argue that Haiti was doubly spectral in this moment, as a 'revenant' (something that returns from the past) and through the marginality of Haiti in the early twentieth century. Haiti would have had a strong resonance for the theme of the conference, both as an example of black liberation and government. Although Haiti had the potential to suggest a certain black liberation, the spectre of Haiti could also suggest a history of anti-imperialism, revolution and the supposed 'failure' of black statehood. The latter view circulated within the British government, to whom the delegates appealed. Both the revenant of the Haitian Revolution and Haiti's ongoing struggle against imperialism were thus highly significant for the conference but also, potentially, disruptive to the aim of encouraging the British government to effect reforms. Such a combination of relevance and absence was central to Haiti's marginal, spectral, (non)presence.

The spectre of Haiti at the Pan-African Conference can be seen as a certain type of 'silencing' of Haiti. This Chapter is unique in relation to the thesis as this form of absence is radically different to the silencing examined elsewhere. The absence of discussion of Haiti at the conference does not suggest a denial or rejection of, for instance, knowledge offered by Haitians, as was carried out by British officials (discussed below). Rather, I argue that it is the consequence of the dominant view of Haiti in Britain, and across the Atlantic World, as connoting an anti-imperialism. This chapter thus develops and complicates the notion of 'silence' as it highlights this specific type of silencing of Haiti in which principles and practices of decolonisation may have been realised but could not be mobilised. The notion of spectrality, then, is highly relevant to this Chapter as it allows for an

analysis of what was thought about if there is no evidence of it being written. The evidence that I provide that Haiti was powerfully relevant to the conference thus comes in the analysis of the cultural contexts — both national and the more closed context of appealing to the British government — in which the delegates operated. In the following section, I detail the manner in which British officials reported on Haiti to the British government.

The Centenary of 1804: Continual Decolonisation and the Warning of Haiti

In December 1903, preparations were being made in Port au Prince for the celebrations of the centenary of Haitian Independence that would take place the following month. A statue of Dessalines arrived from New York (see Figure 1), grand ceremonies were arranged in the form of lectures, fireworks, processions and horse and bicycle races, and the city was to be draped in flags.[4] The Haitian press described this national fervour by remarking on the heroism involved in attaining independence:

> The date which we celebrate today is one of the greatest and most glorious days of our history – It marks a new and sacred era, in the most eloquent manner as undertaken by our fathers, incomparable warriors who, through their courage and epic boldness, 'tamed' an army borne of victories in almost every region of civilised Europe!...

[4] [Anonymous], 'La Statue de Dessalines', *Le Nouvelliste*, 23 December 1905, p. 2; [Anonymous], 'Pour le Centenaire', *Le Nouvelliste*, 29 December 1903, p. 2; [Anonymous], 'Nouvelles Diverses', *Le Nouvelliste*, 4 January 1904, p. 1.

> "Liberty or Death", they cried – And as such their cruel dominators, devoid of all notions of love and charity, who offended God and ostensibly disavowed His work, [were]… thunderstruck by blacks in rags, almost all uncultivated, unhardened…. We swear, fellow citizens, beneath this glorious January sun – firm and resolute – to preserve our dear Haiti and extend the search for all civic virtues, of all the sciences, of all the freedoms, all the unions!... Long live the Heroes of 1804! Long live independence! Long live Civilisation!![5]

As these paragraphs suggest, Haitian independence was construed in these celebrations as an achievement over their European adversaries both in the Haitian Revolution and as an ongoing struggle.

The importance of this historical struggle was underlined at a time of particular tension between Haitians and foreigners, with the position of the latter within Haiti becoming increasingly untenable. More foreigners, particularly traders, had been arriving in Haiti throughout the 1890s as the president, Florvil Hyppolite, reduced political factionalism by putting together a

[5] Boisron Tonnere, '1804 !', *Le Nouvelliste*, 31 December 1903, p. 1. My translation, original in French: 'La date que nous célébrons aujourd'hui est une des plus grandes et des plus glorieuses de notre Histoire – Elle marque une époque nouvelle et consacre, de la manière la plus éloquente… réalisée par nos pères, guerriers incomparables qui, par leur courage et leur audace homériques, domptèrent une armée porteuse de victoires dans presque toutes les régions de l'Europe civilisée !...

« Liberté ou la Mort », s'écrièrent-ils. --- Et ainsi leurs dominateurs cruels, dépourvus de toutes notions d'amour et de charité, qui offensaient Dieu et désavouaient ostensiblement son œuvre, que tant de peuples complices toléraient dans leurs capricieux et ignominieux calcules tombèrent [this word is difficult to make out in the original], foudroyés par des négres en baillons, presque tous incultes, inaguerris… Jurons, Concitoyens, sous ce magnifique soleil de Janvier, --- firmes et résolus, --- de conserver notre Haïti chérie at de l'agrandir par la recherche de toutes les vertus civiques, de toutes les sciences, de toutes les libertés, de toutes les unions !... Vivent les Héros de 1804 ! Vive l'Independence ! Vive la Civilisation !!'

government of Liberals and Nationals, the two major political parties.[6] This helped to create a degree of economic stability, and the presence of foreign merchants expanded. Brenda Gayle Plummer argues that this increased number of foreign traders provided competition for Haitian commerce as they began to monopolise the trading positions.[7] The rise in economic competition mixed with nationalism to create a degree of resentment towards outside traders.

Figure 1: Statue of Dessalines erected in commemoration of independence. From Harry Johnston, *The Negro in the New World* (London: Methuen & Co.,1910), p. 177.

[6] Matthew Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica After Emancipation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), p. 264.
[7] Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the Great Powers, 1902–1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), p. xiii.

During the 1804 commemorations, Haiti's new president, Nord Alexis, capitalised on anti-foreign sentiment to unify Haitian support in his favour. In a proclamation to the public, he exclaimed, 'let us remember that we are one people and that we represent one race. We must not fail at this dual task that Dessalines assigned to us: to be a people and to represent a race.'[8] As David Nicholls points out, *noiriste* writers reinvigorated the memory of Dessalines in this period as an example of black achievement.[9] For Alexis, the commemoration of Dessalines and of 1804 served as an example of Haitian racial unity and spirited nationalism.[10] For both Haitian and foreign observers, the centenary of independence seems to have represented what I here term a 'Dessalinean moment'. In this particular retelling of Haitian history, Dessalines, understood as a member of the African population, was deployed as a powerful representative of national unity in opposition to foreign appropriation of Haitian land and resources.

For the British Consul, A. G. Vansittart, and, indeed, the wider colonial administration, the evocation of Dessalines and 1804 by Haitians presented a particular threat. In Vansittart's letters to the Foreign Office in the build up to the

[8] Nord Alexis, 'Proclamation', *Le Nouvelliste*, 4 January 1904, p. 1. My translation. Original in French: Rappelons-nous que nous sommes un peuple et que nous représentations une race. Nous ne devons point, faillir a cette double tâche que Dessalines nous a assignée : d'être un peuple et de représenter une race.

[9] David Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 116. In a more recent article, Deborah Jenson supports the view that the memory of Dessalines was portrayed to suit various political agendas in Haiti throughout the nineteenth century. See Deborah Jenson, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the African Character of the Haitian Revolution', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 69, 3 (2012), 615–38.

[10] In *Chords of Freedom*, John Oldfield examines commemorations of the abolition of the slave trade in creating narratives of British-national unity. See John Oldfield, *Chords of Freedom: Commemoration, Ritual and British Transatlantic Slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

commemoration of 1804, and throughout 1904, the Consul relayed his anxieties about the Haitian threat to the lives and prospects of Britons and Europeans. In particular, he feared the repetition of Dessalines's actions in 1804:

> I regret to have to report that the situation here is daily becoming more critical.
>
> During the past few days placards have appeared in different parts of the city of the most seditious and inflammatory description… They generally contain the words "1804–1904." "Mort aux Blancs." "Vive Dessalines," "Vive Nord" [See Figure 2].[11]

[11] A. G. Vansittart to Marquis of Lansdowne, 19 December 1903, FO 35/179, p. 236.

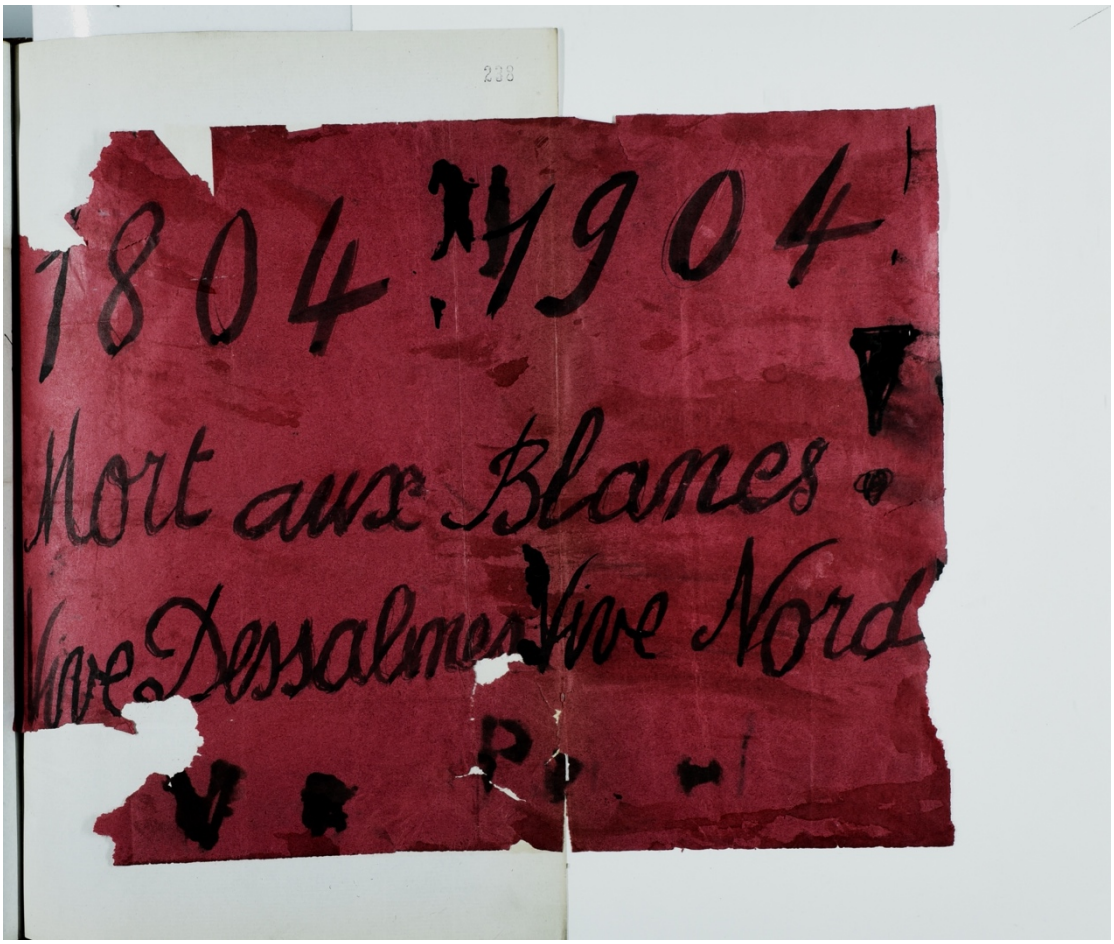

Figure 2: Placard sent from Vansittart to the Foreign Office. Vansittart to Lansdwone, 19 December 1903, FO 35/179, p. 238.

In May, Vansittart requested that a warship be put on standby, complaining that 'a massacre of white residents is now quite within the bounds of possibility… at the first sign of such a catastrophe, if the telegraph wires are not cut, I shall telegraph to Your Lordship for protection.'[12] Even the president, who Vansittart describes as 'an autocratic negro-African despot... inspired with the utmost hatred to all white people', was apparently threatening to relinquish protection of foreigners: [13]

[12] A. G.Vansittart to Marquis of Lansdowne, 11 May 1904, FO 35/180, p. 110.
[13] A. G. Vansittart to Marquis of Lansdowne, 4 August 1904, FO 35/180, p. 175.

> the President announced to his listeners that the grave monetary crisis was entirely due to the Bankers and white population… and that he would be unable to prevent a repetition of 1804, viz: – a massacre of foreigners.[14]

Although a massacre of foreigners did not materialise, foreign-owned businesses were subject to increased harassment. The year before Vansittart's arrival, a sawmill, believed by the British Acting Consul to be a major part of the Haitian economy, owned by a German-born British subject, Emil Peters, was raided by 'hordes of undisciplined savages' despite the 'British flag… flying over the property at the time.'[15] Two hundred police reportedly surrounded the property and arrested any Haitian worker who did not escape, stating that they were searching for political suspects. A day later, the offices of the company were raided and employees apparently heard threats from soldiers that 'they would burn the dirty place of Peters.'[16] In consequence, the company could no longer attract local labourers and work halted at the sawmill. Vansittart instructed foreign businesses to close up at night under a context of 'intense animosity towards foreigners.'[17] For the British authorities in Haiti, and the Foreign Office, these attacks and violations of the British flag were tied to the 'massacres' of 1804. Threatening aspects of the Haitian Revolution were, then, perceived to be returning with its centenary. These events not only encouraged but confirmed a

[14] A. G. Vansittart to Marquis of Lansdowne, 4 August 1904, FO 35/180, p. 175.
[15] Acting British Consul to Marquis of Salisbury, 8 October 1903, FO 35/185, p. 1. The Acting Consul relays that the company owned £30,000 of investment in Haiti. I am unable to identify the name of the Acting Consul.
[16] Acting British Consul to Marquis of Salisbury, 8 October 1903, FO 35/185, p. 5.
[17] A. G. Vansittart to the Marquis of Lansdowne, 4 August 1904, FO35/180, p. 175.

preconception within the British government of Haiti as a place of revolution and racial massacre.

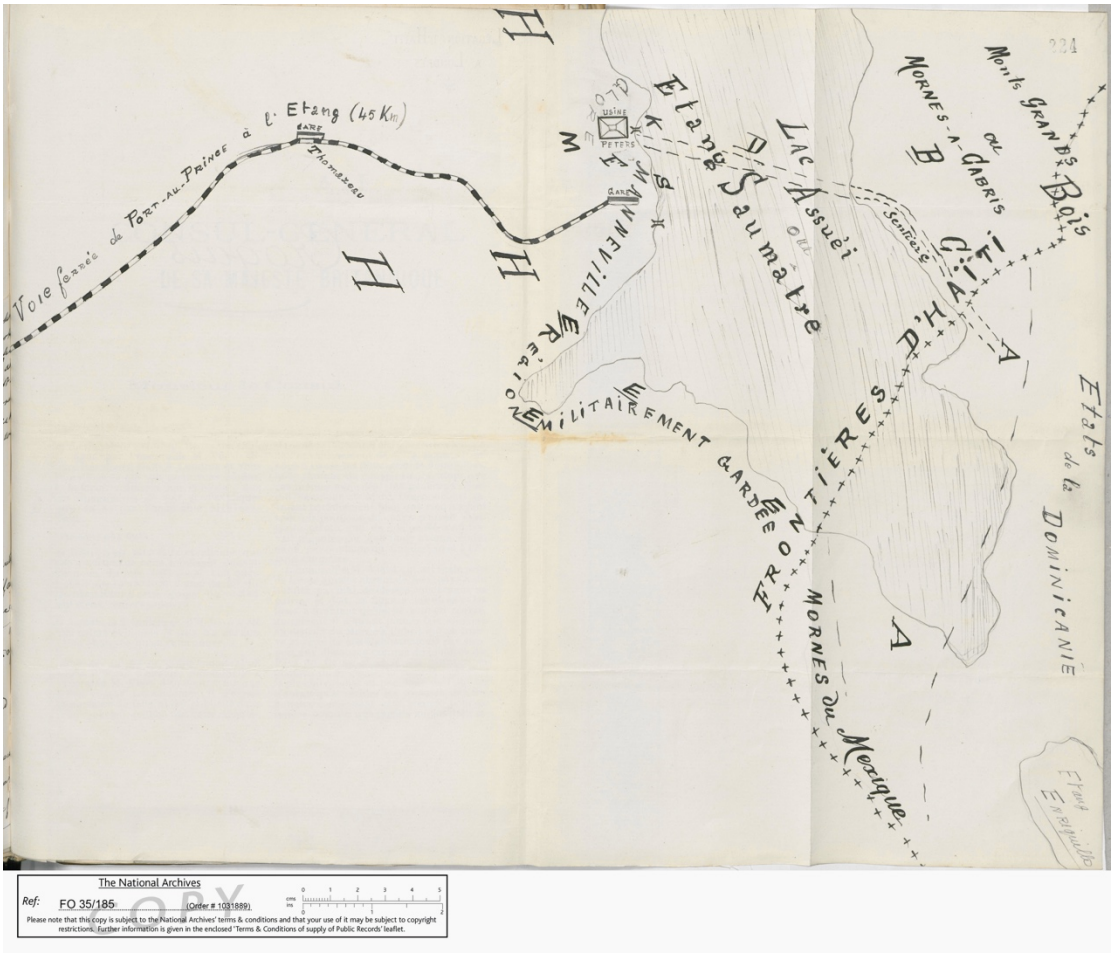

Figure 3: A map sent by Vansittart to the Foreign Office detailing the offence on the sawmill belonging to Peters & Co. Vansittart to Lansdowne, FO35/185, p. 224.

Such perceptions were closely tied to assertions made by British officials in exchanges with Haitian diplomats. In the dispute analysed below, between the Foreign Office and Alonzo Potter Holly, a Haitian representative to the Bahamas, British colonial administrators denigrated the Haitian state by insisting on its unsuitability to act in questions of diplomacy, and through racialised language. Whether perceived as revolutionary, or as containing an incapable government, Haiti was consistently represented as lacking a 'correct' political system.

Holly had been sent to the Bahamas to investigate the accusation that Haitian coffee was being smuggled there without paying export duty. In the course of his inquiries, Holly expressed his dissatisfaction with the prosecution of persons who had violated the Haitian Consulate. Darent McDonald, a British official sent to examine Holly's claims, related that Holly

> was extremely annoyed at my refusal to reopen the matter and spoke with some heat to the effect that his Government did not consider that the small fine inflicted was sufficient punishment for the offence. Mr Armbister said "I don't see what the Government of Haiti can know of the matter"… Mr Holly got perfectly furious… he said his Government had been insulted and that he would not be spoken to "like that" etc. etc… Dr Holly said it was not the words used that he objected to but the "tone" of Mr Armbister's voice.[18]

As Armbister's rebuke highlights, British colonial authorities questioned the ability of the Haitian state to preside over matters of law. Haiti was perceived by British representatives as lacking the necessary education and qualifications for government. Knowledge offered by Haitian officials was rejected as insufficient in comparison to that of Britain. This assessment of Haiti relied to some degree on the racist vernacular that underpinned British imperialism. In a loose note in the Foreign Office volume dealing with Holly's claims, Sir Martin Le Marchant

[18] Darent McDonald, 'Report Regarding Accusations of Coffee Smuggling and Impediments Placed on Mail Between Inagua and Haiti', 1 October 1900, FO 35/175, pp. 453–54.

Hadsley Gosselin, at the time Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, gives his response to the case of Holly:

> I have read through this sheaf of papers and should like to be allowed to say that though Mr Armbister allowed his irritation to get the better of him, he certainly had good cause to be angry with this blustering negro, Dr Holly.[19]

Although Gosselin does recognise the education of Holly by making reference to his doctorate ('Dr Holly'), this became secondary to Holly's perceived racial characteristics.[20] As the British government formally recognised Haiti as an independent nation, Haitian representatives were entitled to diplomatic privileges. As they demanded that these entitlements were recognised by British authorities, Haitians were undermined through a racist vernacular. Through supposedly threatening the massacre of Europeans or by demanding diplomatic entitlements perceived as inappropriate for a 'black' state, British diplomats consistently emphasised Haiti as antagonistic in the face of the British empire. This assertion was accompanied by a particular process of silencing in the form of a refusal to recognise the Haitian state as competent, or with equal diplomatic rights.

The notion that Haiti provided opposition to the British empire was not confined to diplomatic correspondence. In varying ways, it was promoted

[19] Sir Martin Le Marchant Hadsley Gosselin to [Anonymous], 3 August 1900, 35/175, p. 296.
[20] Ann Laura Stoler makes the point that concepts of race in empire were contingent on other criteria such as class, according to the aims of both imperial administrators and the 'colonised' in specific colonial encounters. Stoler, p. 25.

throughout the British press, and in travel literature, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The widespread celebration of Dessalines in Haiti, and its potentially violent consequences for foreigners, was not only lamented by the British consul. Hesketh Vernon Prichard, author of the travel narrative *Where Black Rules White* (1900), complained that, rather than follow in the example of Toussaint Louverture, the influence of Dessalines was widespread in Haiti:

> In Toussaint you have a man whose bond, whose acts of mercy are the sole bright episodes against one of the darkest backgrounds of history… The many tales of his acts of generosity, no one of which militated in any degree against the cause of Haytian liberty, are legion.
>
> Over and against him stands a far different figure, that of General Dessalines, who spared no man in his anger and no woman in his lust, who was corrupt and venal to an unheard of degree… Today, in Hayti, which of these two men is the national hero? It is Dessalines.
>
> And the act upon which his fame chiefly rests is the barbarous decree issued by him for the massacre of every living French soul, man, woman and child.[21]

As Prichard suggests, Louverture was considered with a particular esteem in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century. He was included in the revision of Auguste Comte's *Calendar of Great Men* (1892), under the section on 'Modern Statesmanship'. In Louverture's entry, his biographer describes him as

[21] Hesketh Vernon Prichard, *Where Black Rules White: A Journey Across and About Hayti* (Westminster: Constable, 1900), pp. 279–80.

'vigilant, energetic, incorruptible, merciful to his enemies and severe to his friends when required by the public good, and entirely free from the prejudice of race, he alone was able to govern the colony.'[22] As I argue in Chapter One and Chapter Four, the notion that Louverture was exceptional in comparison to the Haitian population and the 'black race' was common in the earlier Victorian period. Prichard's thesis reinforces such a perception of Louverture as exceptional in the later nineteenth century. In supposed opposition to Louverture, the resurgent memory of the Haitian Revolution-as-Dessalinean in Britain strengthened a perception that Haiti was violently anti-colonial and anti-imperial.

This view did not necessarily match up to the 'reality' in Haiti. For instance, scholars of Haiti, such as David Nicholls, Laurent Dubois, and Matthew Smith, have pointed out that various Haitian governments throughout the nineteenth century, and particularly at the end of the century, did appeal to foreign nations for political backing in return for the suzerainty of land.[23] In other words, there was no straightforward rejection by Haitians of foreign interference but a more complicated engagement according to the political dilemmas faced by governments and individuals. For the British travellers and colonial administrators, this complicated set of relationships regarding Haiti's position in international affairs was replaced by the more pervasive idea of Haitian opposition to empire, resulting in 'autocracy'.

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[22] Frederick Harrison, *The* New *Calendar of Great Men: Biographies of the 558 Worthies of All Ages and Nations in the Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte* (London: Macmillan, 1892).
[23] Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier*; Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2012); Smith, *Liberty*.

Such a representation of Haiti was not necessarily limited to the British diplomatic and intellectual elite. Prichard's travel narrative circulated in Britain as it was published both in book form and in the newly created popular newspaper the *Daily Express*, informing a broad British readership. That very little competing information about the complexity of relationships between Haiti and external powers at this time was available to this readership becomes apparent in an exchange between the editor of the newly established *Daily Express*, Cyril Arthur Pearson, and an interviewer for the reformist magazine *Review of Reviews*. Pearson commissioned the travel narrative of Haiti by Prichard, to appear in the first copies of the *Daily Express*. The interviewer remarked 'well… it must be admitted that it required audacity to print an article about Hayti… Why, one half of your readers have no idea where Hayti is, have never heard of it, take no interest in it.'[24] Pearson responded:

> No… but what a capital story it is which our correspondent has to tell about Hayti! It is full of life and interest and touches upon a very vital question as to whether the black races can be left to govern themselves without the guidance and control of whites… The experiment seems conclusive.[25]

For the readers of the *Daily Express* who, for Pearson at least, were not familiar with Haiti, it was interpreted for them as a means of measuring the ability of black people for government. The ultimate conclusion offered by Prichard is that

[24] [Anonymous], 'Character Sketch', *Review of Reviews*, May 1900, p. 430.
[25] 'Character Sketch', p. 430.

'the black races' cannot govern themselves. For Prichard Dessalines suggested a powerful warning against revolution and the assumption of state by a black population, in the Caribbean or, indeed, anywhere else (such as Africa). The notion that Haiti was historically anti-imperial was, then, predominant in British popular discourse.

The prevalence of the perception that Haitians were opposed to British imperial interests in the British press as well as the British state is further suggested by the publication of a proclamation in *The Times* towards the end of 1904. The decree, issued by Dessalines in 1804, aimed to put a stop to American traders dealing with smaller Haitian businesses as it led to an unregulated trade, with Haitian currency leaving the country unchecked. No explicit interpretation of the proclamation is offered by *The Times*. Its relevance is instead suggested by preceding reports that highlight the historical relationship between the United States and Haiti in the context of the construction of the Panama Canal. Nine days before Dessalines' proclamation was published, *The Times* printed a narrative sent 'from our West Indian Correspondent' who had recently toured Haiti. In this report, the significance of Dessalines and Haitian Independence to Haiti's perceived ongoing rejection of imperialism is made apparent:

> To judge from what one hears everywhere the people will never consent to surrender any territorial interest to a foreign Power. At the celebration in January of the centennial anniversary of independence at Gonaives a new 'declaration of independence' was drawn up specially emphasizing this point and pledging the people to maintain their position, and it is now being signed in the principal towns. At the unveiling of a statue of

> Dessalines at Port au Prince in February a similar document was signed by all principal citizens. When President Nord Alexis was questioned by the writer on the subject and the possibilities for Haiti involved in American intervention in Santo Domingo were pointed out, he replied that his race had fought for independence and would die to the man before giving it up. Lately, it is reported, the United States asked permission to erect light houses along the coast in connexion with the Panama Canal, but the Government refused the request, stating that the republic itself would attend to the matter.[26]

Placed in this context, the publication of the proclamation by Dessalines suggests an attempt on behalf of the editorial staff of *The Times* to encourage its readership to perceive Haitian independence and its rejection of foreign domination through the precedent of Dessalines and the threat of violence towards the 'white race'.

[26] [Anonymous], 'The Problem of Haiti and Santo Domingo', *The Times*, 7 December 1904, p. 14.

From The Times of 1804.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 17.

PROCLAMATIONS by the EMPEROR of HAYTI.

"LIBERTY OR DEATH."

"JACQUES, THE FIRST EMPEROR OF HAYTI.

"Being informed that the Captains of American vessels, that arrive in the different ports of our Empire, make a practice of selling their cargoes, wholesale and retail, to small dealers:

"Considering that the above practice is prejudicial to commerce, and favours the exportation of all the specie from the Island, we determine to put a stop to it.

"We therefore decree and ordain the following, to be executed in its utmost extent:—

Article 1. "We forbid peremptorily every Captain of a foreign vessel arriving in the ports of our empire, to sell their cargoes by retail to small dealers or private persons.

Art. 2. "The merchants established by virtue of our letters patent, shall have the sole power to trade for the cargoes either separately or jointly.

Art. 3. "Every Merchant, foreign or domestic, who shall receive directly, consignments of vessels, shall not sell the merchandize by retail; and shall conform according to Article 2, with respect to the sales of their cargoes.

Art. 4. "The Merchants established by our letters patent, shall not treat with the consignees of foreign vessels, until the Administration shall have made choice of such articles as are necessary for the army.

Art. 5. "Any person or persons contravening the present decree, shall be fined three hundred dollars for the first offence, and five hundred for the second.

"We give notice to, and order the Minister General of Finances, the General of Division and Brigade, the Principal and Private Administrators, to keep under guard all who shall contravene the above decree.

"Done at our Imperial palace, at the Cape, the 15th Oct. 1804, first year of our independence, and of our reign the first.

(Signed) "JACQUES the First.

"By the EMPEROR,

"DINGUOY, General of Horse."

Figure 4: [Anonymous], 'From *The Times* of 1804', *The Times*, 16 December 1904, p. 5.

For British colonial administrators and the broader British press, the view that Haiti was violently opposed to empire, and that its government was incompetent in its administration as a result seemed pervasive. Colonial agents, such as Vansittart denigrated Haiti for its supposed opposition to empire. The notion of an anti-colonial population of African descent was potentially of particular concern to the British government due to ongoing British colonialism in Africa. In *Where Black Rules White*, Prichard argues that the outcome of 'African government' is despotism and a regression towards superstitious

practices: 'as long as Hayti retains an entirely negro Government, at least so long will the shadow of the Papaloi loom large in the land, for Africa transplanted is Africa still.'[27] As I argue in Chapter One and Chapter Three, through the equation of the Haitian government with practices of Vaudoux, Haiti was construed as a place under the control of a despotic and irrational leadership. For British observers, the presence of Vaudoux suggested that the Haitian state lacked the credentials, such as Christianity and education, necessary to conduct government. Its decolonisation, then, supposedly resulted in a 'failed' government. As Prichard makes explicit the perceived racial link between Haiti and Africa, Haiti thereby became a symbol of the fate of the areas of Africa under the British empire should Britain relinquish their control. Alternatively, if the Haitian state was recognised as equal to that of Britain, British rule in Africa would be problematic as Haiti potentially offered additional evidence that African populations were capable of ruling themselves. The perception of Haiti as an 'African' state outside of empire meant that the British authorities could not acknowledge the Haitian state as fully competent without contradicting its rationale of colonial policy in Africa. Throughout travel literature, the press, and the British government, the idea of a competent Haitian state was rejected.

In the context of the British metropole, the view that Haitian political systems were defective was pervasive. In the press, travel narratives, and in diplomatic correspondence, the Haitian population was presented as having revolutionary tendencies, and the government was cast as racially inappropriate. Without colonial management, Haiti offered a particular set of challenges to

[27] Prichard, *Where Black Rules White*, p. 94.

British imperialism. Haiti was not only perceived as problematic due to its independence but was further seen as radically anti-imperial through such threats as a repetition of 1804 or by the assertion of its diplomatic rights. The prevalence of this interpretation of Haiti in Britain is demonstrated by an analysis of the Pan-African Conference that took place in London in 1900. This event was convened by Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvestre Williams, to address the perceived abuses of imperialism towards people of African descent. The proposed solution to such 'malpractice' was to 'improve' the operation of empire through suggesting a programme of reforms to imperial powers and, in particular, the British government. Pan-Africanism, in this historical moment, was not radically anti-imperialist but worked to improve living conditions within the confines of empire.[28]

Haiti was powerfully relevant to the theme of the conference as it provided a contemporary and historical example of anti-colonial action and government by a previously colonised population of African descent. The awareness of the Haitian Revolution as an anti-colonial event at the conference is suggested by the decision to hold a following conference, in 1904, in Haiti due to the centenary of Haitian Independence.[29] At least one delegate from Haiti (Benito

[28] The notion that the delegates at the conference sought to work within empire through recommending reforms, rather than to oppose empire itself is supported by Frederick Cooper in his analysis of claim-making by colonised subjects, as well as by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Huskins in their broader examination of Pan-Africanism, and Marika Sherwood, whose monograph provides the most in-depth and focused analysis of the Pan-African Conference. See Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Philip Morgan and Sean Huskins, 'Blacks and the British Empire: An Introduction', in *Black Experience and the Empire*, ed. by Philip D. Morgan and Sean Huskins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1–34; Marika Sherwood, *Origins of Pan-Africanism: Henry Sylvester Williams, Africa and the African Diaspora* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011).

[29] With the disintegration of the Pan-African Association this conference, and the conference that was planned for the United States in 1902, did not take place.

Sylvain), who would later write a thesis that dealt with the universal aspects of the Revolution, was also present. Yet, Haiti went undiscussed. To cite Haiti had the potential to give the claimants an appearance of radical anti-imperialism that created an anxiety in their peers in the British government. In this sense, Haiti must have seemed highly inappropriate to the delegates as a symbol of protest against empire.

The type of silencing of Haiti that occurred at the conference was not, then, the same as the rejection of the capability of the Haitian state as found in diplomatic correspondence. The delegates at the conference did not necessarily reject the idea that Haiti provided a desirable example of statehood, but under the conditions of appealing to the British government, and within the British imperial context, the delegates avoided discussing the Haitian example. I refer to this type of silencing, in which Haiti was both powerfully relevant, and yet went undiscussed, as Haiti's spectrality. I now provide an analysis of the cultural and discursive backgrounds of the delegates at the conference to demonstrate that they would have been aware of Haiti's connotations as broadly anti-imperial.

Haitian Presence: Pan-Americanism and Pan-Africanism

Through tracking the circulation of news about the Haitian Revolution, Susan Buck-Morss finds that it influenced the intellectual life of Europeans even if this was not made explicit. Buck-Morss argues that as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel read frequent reports of the Haitian Revolution in the newspaper *Minerva*, the actions of the Haitian enslaved have to be considered in the formulation of Hegel's master-slave dialectic: 'The actual and successful revolution of Caribbean slaves against their masters is the moment when the dialectical logic of

recognition becomes visible as the thematic of world history, the story of the universal realization of freedom.'[30] Although it is not possible to provide evidence of the reading habits of the conference delegates (as Buck-Morss does in regards to Hegel), an examination of the various cultural contexts in which the delegates lived illustrates that ideas about Haiti as anti-imperialist were available to the Pan-Africanists. Added to the British discursive context in which the delegates protested (discussed above), such a view of Haiti became unavoidable for the delegates.

As Buck-Morss finds evidence that Hegel was aware of the Haitian Revolution by examining the texts that were available to him, it is possible to perceive the ideas about Haiti that were available to the delegates by analysing their respective national contexts. These otherwise disparate contexts are relevant here for illuminating the way that Haiti was thought about by the Pan-Africanists who convened in London in 1900. Fifteen of the delegates hailed from the United States, twelve came from the Caribbean, and twenty-three more from West Africa.[31] An analysis of discussions of Haiti in these regions demonstrates that Haiti was thought of as offering an anti-colonial example.

As I outline in the introduction (pp. 42–45), the meaning of Haiti in the United States evolved throughout the nineteenth century. During the Civil War, Haiti was mobilised to promote the cause of the black population, providing not only an example of military success over a white, slave-holding population, but also suggesting a civil equality. Such a significance changed following the Civil War.

[30] Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), pp. 59–60.

[31] This information is taken from the information provided on the delegates in 'Appendix 1: Biographies', in Sherwood, pp. 231–79.

With universal emancipation in the United States, the aims of African Americans shifted in an attempt to acquire equal civil rights. Haiti was, as Brandon Byrd argues, redeployed in this campaign.[32] The version of Haiti as a symbol of black military success now stood at odds to the aims of African Americans:

> celebratory assessments of black progress, the Haitian Revolution, and independent Haiti would, however, dwindle over the course of Reconstruction… Recognizing that white supremacists disparaged African Americans by pointing to Haitian religious practices and political upheaval as proof of black inferiority, leading African-Americans attempted to reform the 'Black Republic', particularly through missionary work.[33]

A 'revolutionary Haiti' had been mobilised during the Civil War but was now antithetical to the new, reformist, agenda of reconstruction-era African-Americans. In the American context, the deployment of Haiti as a symbol of revolution was seen as appropriate when in violent conflict against a slave-holding power but, as African-Americans moved to challenge the US government from within, Haiti lost its revolutionary and, indeed, its radical, elements.

Many of these delegates would have been aware of these competing versions of Haiti due to their American heritage and interest in questions of racial equality. At least one of the fifteen delegates who travelled from the US to

[32] Brandon Byrd, 'Black Republicans, Black Republic: African-Americans, Haiti, and the Promise of Reconstruction', *Slavery and Abolition*, 36, 4 (2014), 1–23.
[33] Byrd, p. 2.

the conference voiced their opinion, in private, that Pan-Africanism should be violently anti-colonial. Captain Harry Dean recalled telling W. E. B. DuBois that he wanted to 'lead a black army across the straits of Gibraltar to liberate Africa from the colonial powers… Wanted to instigate a movement to rehabilitate Africans and found such an Ethiopian Empire as the world had never seen.'[34] Such sentiments are not apparent in the speeches given at the conference.[35] At odds with this approach, the revolutionary, and anti-imperialist, aspects of Haiti's past were thus marginalised at the conference.

In the Caribbean context, a place of origin for twelve more of the delegates, Haiti was historically used to suggest anti-colonial protest.[36] Indeed, in Chapter Two, and Chapter Three, I demonstrate that British colonial authorities understood Haitian history as presenting a violent opposition to the British empire in the Caribbean. This notion was widely shared in the British government and the popular press at the time of the Morant Bay War (1865) and was reinforced in St John's *Hayti or the Black Republic* (1884); the second edition of which was published just eleven years before the conference took place (in 1889). Further to the research offered throughout this thesis, Matthew Smith

[34] Captain Henry Dean, cited in Sherwood, p. 239.

[35] This argument is supported by Sherwood's assessment of the conference as seeking institutional equality rather than independence. See Sherwood, p. 97.

[36] For an assessment of ideas about Haiti in uprisings in Cuba in the early-nineteenth century see Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Ferrer argues that in the context of the Aponte uprising in Cuba, 1812: 'Aponte and his companions were well aware of the rise of black emperors and kings from slavery, of the establishment of a black court and nobility, and of the power of black generals, admirals, and brigadiers in Haiti. The victory they imagined in Havana in 1812, then, involved not only inverting the hierarchies of colonial society — of turning the world upside down — but also extending privileges being won by black men elsewhere to their own lives.' (p. 293). For a broader analysis of the Aponte conflict see Matt Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

argues that 'the Haitian Revolution, and especially its leadership, had a central place in British West Indian thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.'[37] Although it may not be possible to ascertain concrete evidence of the views of the delegates in regards to Haiti, and its relation to Pan-Africanism, for the delegates of British or Caribbean heritage, ideas about Haiti as anti-imperial were unavoidable.

Many more of the delegates heralded from West Africa. Haiti was here too understood as a symbol of violent decolonisation in anti-colonial movements towards the end of the nineteenth century. In February 1906, the *Lagos Weekly Record* reported on the brutal treatment and killing of indigenous captives by German troops in German South West Africa. The report warned that

> the Natives who witnessed the death of their compatriots will not be inspired with awe and fear, but on the contrary will look upon their slain brethren as martyrs to the cause of their country; and will ever hold their memory in reverence. The French tried the experiment in Hayti in 1790, but the only result was to engender a spirit of deep hatred which has survived a century and exists till this day.[38]

Although the report singled out German treatment of people in South Africa, Haiti appears to be deployed as a universal warning against the use of colonial violence. Not only does such violence engender resentment but the

[37] Matthew Smith, '"To Place Ourselves in History": The Haitian Revolution in British West Indian Thought before *The Black Jacobins*', in *The Black Jacobins Reader*, ed. by Charles Forsdick and Christian Høgsbjerg (London: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 178–98 (p. 180).
[38] [Anonymous], 'Untitled', *Lagos Weekly Record*, 24 February 1906, p. 4.

consequences of such ill feeling could result in conflict to the detriment of the imperial power, and a form of independence for its adversaries.

The quotation on Haiti was published in a specific context of anti-colonialism. At the turn of the century, the Lagos press provided, according to Nozomi Sawada, 'discussions on how the future of the Lagos society should be.'[39] Such discussion was not limited to the West African educated elite that published the Lagos press as editors attempted to 'transcend tensions among different groups and to overcome some of the social cleavages that were retarding progress.'[40] The *Lagos Weekly Record*, under the editorship of John Payne Jackson, was no different. Jackson used his paper to attempt to unify the local population against colonialism: 'We hope the day will soon come when… Hausas, Yorubas, and Ibos will make a common stand and work hand in hand for their common fatherland.'[41] Such assertions highlight the instability of the British empire in the region at this time, which was characterised by a resort to violent conflict. The British had obtained control of Lagos after an armed attack led to the town being set alight whereas expeditions of expansion and pacification across the region were ongoing throughout the early twentieth century.[42] In this context, Haiti and its revolutionary history were understood not as an appeal to the British government, but were deployed as a powerful warning against the violence of imperialism.

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[39] Nozomi Sawada, 'The Educated Elite and Associational Life in Early Lagos Newspapers: In Search of Unity for the Progress of Society', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2011), p. 3.
[40] Sawada, p. 8.
[41] John Payne Jackson, cited in James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 185.
[42] Coleman, p. 170.

In the political context of West Africa, where empire was particularly unstable, Haiti was deployed as a warning to the colonial authorities and acted as an inspiration for those interested in removing empire from the region through violent struggle. Detailing this context illustrates one way in which notions about Haiti as anti-imperial were available to the twenty-three delegates that heralded from West Africa. Although Haiti was deployed in the West African context to challenge imperialism, it was absent at the Pan-African Conference. Such an absence does not necessarily suggest, then, that Haiti was not known about or thought irrelevant to the objectives of pan-Africanists but that its perceived anti-imperialism did not translate to the project of reform. The delegates from West Africa did not necessarily have to have read articles such as that published by Payne. The article is symptomatic of how Haiti was thought about in the West African context. In the United States, the Caribbean, and West Africa, Haiti was a cultural reference point. In all these contexts, Haiti was known to threaten empire and notions of white supremacy. As the delegates convened in the capital of the British empire, this notion would have threatened to undermine the ambition of seeking imperial reforms. Considering that Haiti was known to threaten empire in all these contexts, the spectre of Haiti at the conference does not suggest its irrelevancy but the power of its significance. To cite Haiti would have been understood, by both the delegates and the British government, as a radically seditious claim against British imperial authorities. The absence of discussion about Haiti at the conference should therefore be seen as the adoption of a certain strategy of claim-making on behalf of the delegates.

Frederick Cooper argues that the space of empire is an uneven terrain in which 'colonized people sought — not entirely without success — to build lives

in the crevices of colonial power, deflecting, appropriating, or reinterpreting the teachings and preachings thrust upon them.'[43] Despite such similar aims, the differing political contexts faced by the conference and the Lagos press meant that their strategies of opposition varied. In entering the metropole a further context becomes highly significant for limiting the language of protest used the delegates. As they advocated reforms, the delegates pronounced their demands according to a vocabulary that was comprehensible by, and agreeable to, the British government. An analysis of the proceedings of the conference (provided below), and the specific delegates, reveals the extent to which the attendees adopted a British language of reform agreeable to the British government, and perceived notions of Haiti to threaten that reformist agenda. In this context of claim-making, Haiti was necessarily marginalised.

The Spectre of Haiti: Reformism at the Pan-African Conference

The Pan-African Conference took place in Westminster Hall, part of the Palace of Westminster that also houses the two Houses of Parliament. The location of the conference suggests the relationship between the delegates and the colonial administration and the British government.[44] The conference did not simply rally against the injustices of empire but to some extent, worked in collaboration with

[43] Cooper, p. 16. In her highly nuanced work, Ann Laura Stoler similarly maintains that throughout the history of colonialism, 'the *quality* and *intensity* of racism have varied enormously in different contexts and at different moments in any particular colonial encounter.' See Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 25.

[44] Whereas historian Jonathan Schneer does not emphasise the edificial context in which the conference took place, instead analysing its situation in the city of London, he supports the idea that the location of the conference was indeed symbolic of the attempt to influence British imperial policy. See Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

imperial forces. Its organiser, Williams, had long campaigned for reform within the British empire, establishing the African Association in 1897.[45] As head of this organisation, Williams aimed to influence British parliament and the imperial government through petitions and meetings, winning the support of several MPs.[46] The relationships Williams established in this process are reflected by the attendees at the conference. The elite background of the delegates is outlined in Table One below.[47]

[45] Immanuel Geiss, *The Pan-African Movement*, trans. by Ann Keep (London: Methren, 1974), p. 179.
[46] Sherwood, p. 60.
[47] The information used in this table is taken from Sherwood, 'Appendix 1: Biographies', pp. 231–75.

Table One: Select Profession of Delegates

Profession (and Number)	**Notable Persons**
MPs (Two)	Liberal Gavin Brown Clark; Dadabhai Naoroji (first Indian to be elected to Parliament)
Spiritual Leaders and Missionaries (Twelve)	Bishop Alexander Walters; Bishop of London; Bishop James Johnson of Liberia
Leaders of Reform Societies (Three)	Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigine Protection Society; Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
Foreign Diplomats and Politicians (Three)	Frederick R Johnson, Attorney-General of Liberia; Benito Sylvain, Haitian diplomat; Benjamin Williams Arnett, Ohio Councilman
Lawyers (Sixteen)	Henry Sylvester Williams
Doctors (Medical and Academic; Twelve)	W.E.B. DuBois; Ernest Hayford, surgeon but also a political activist and prolific writer
Merchants (Three)	Moses Da Rocha, second son of one of the wealthiest families in Lagos; Richard Akinwande Savage, son of another prominent mercantile family based in Lagos, and student of medicine

Other attendees include navy officers, journalists (in the capacity of delegates), publishers, and composers such as Samuel Coleridge-Taylor. Together, they constituted a highly educated group, of relatively privileged background. The endorsement of the conference by members of the British establishment indicates the agreeable means of protest promised by Williams and the delegates. Indeed, on the second day of the conference, the MP Gavin Clark invited the delegates to tea on the terrace of the House of Commons.[48]

Despite their remonstrations against the injustices of empire, the more conservative approach championed by the delegates of African descent reflects their relatively privileged backgrounds. Through such credentials, the delegates were differentiated from the popular classes, and were seemingly qualified to enter into processes of government through a language of reform. The *Manchester Guardian* commented of the second day of the conference that 'there were of course no "savages" taking part in this conference. All the delegates are cultured men and women.'[49] The delegates performed a certain elitism as they queried the racial inequality of empire but not other hierarchies, for instance that of privilege. Historian Alexandre Mboukou writes that Williams, the central organiser, saw himself as 'the recognized leader and spokesman of Black Africans.'[50] In Trinidad, Williams pointed out that levels of formal education should be considered as decisive in extending the franchise and that 'the raw

[48] [Anonymous], 'A Summer Trip to Europe', *Sierra Leone Weekly News*, 25 August 1900, pp. 2–3.
[49] [Anonymous], *Manchester Guardian*, cited in Sherwood, p. 84.
[50] Alexandre Mboukou, 'The Pan-African Movement, 1900–1945: A Study in Leadership Conflicts Among the Disciples of Pan-Africanism', *Journal of Black Studies*, 13, 3 (1983), 275–88 (p. 278).

crude native', as he put it, should not be eligible.[51] Williams was joined by Alexander Walters, an ex-enslaved American Bishop, in espousing such elitism. Walters argued that the African Association 'can do much for the consideration of the condition of persons of African descent throughout the world, provided that they are supported in their work by the better classes of our people. Without such co-operation, they are sure to fail.'[52] The conference, then, not only took place in the government buildings of Westminster but its delegates also shared definitions of 'civilisation' and 'savagery' that were consistent with members of the British government (see Chapter Two and Chapter Three).

The conference's 'Programme of Subjects for Discussion' reflects the extent to which the broader conference was concerned with 'improving' the 'African race'. Second on the list is 'The cruelty of civilised Paganism of which the Race are victims.' Third is 'The progress of our people in the light of current history in: (a) Industry (b) Christian character (c) General culture and learning.'[53] The language in this agenda suggests that the delegates differentiated themselves from the majority of colonised subjects. This process of differentiation is further suggested by the fifth, and final, item on the 'Programme:' 'Europe's Atonement for wrongs is the loud demand of Africa'. The title of this item could suggest a radical demand of European powers to dismantle the project of imperialism. Instead, as the topics under this title illustrate, the delegates requested an altered form of imperialism in which discrimination was not based on race prejudice: '(a) Christian Missions. (b) The

[51] Williams, cited in Sherwood, p. 111.
[52] Alexander Walters, *My Life and Work* (New York: Revell, 1917), p. 262.
[53] 'Programme of Subjects for Discussion', cited in Sherwood, p. 77.

reign of just and humane government (*c*) The *personnel* of government not to be vitiated by race antipathies.'[54] Government, they advocated, should be dictated according to racial equality, but other hierarchies of the colonial system, such as an exclusivism based on privilege, go unquestioned.

The conference was thus conservatively reformist in its aims as it was in its strategies. The delegates resolved by petitioning Queen Victoria to address abuses of the labour system in Rhodesia. An 'Address to the Nations of the World' was also drafted. Although universal in its title, one delegate clarified that this was in fact 'a manifesto… appealing to the political wisdom and humanity of Christian nations.'[55] The 'British nation' was singled out in this address, specifically its supposed past

> as the first modern champion of Negro freedom… [Let it] hasten to crown the work of Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and Buxton…. and give, as soon as practicable, the rights of responsible government to the Black colonies of Africa and the West Indies.[56]

For the British government to yield to the recommendations of the Pan-Africanists was only to continue a particularly British tradition of reform.

The delegates emphasised their position in devising and presiding over such reforms, deciding that 'a general association comprising the intellectual

[54] 'Programme of Subjects for Discussion', cited in Sherwood, p. 77.
[55] Benito Sylvain, cited in Tony Martin, 'Benito Sylvain of Haiti on the Pan-African Conference of 1900', *PanAfrican Journal*, 8, 2 (1975), 177–90 (p. 183).
[56] 'Address to the Nations of the World', cited in Tony Martin, p. 184; A version of the 'Address' is also available in W.E.B. DuBois, *An ABC of Color* (Berlin: Seven Sea Books, 1963), pp. 19–20.

elite of civilized blacks would be established under the name Pan-African Association, to centralise or control the activities of all organisations… which have as their objective the protection and education of peoples of African origin.'[57] To some extent, the strategies of the Pan-Africanists were thus aligned with that of the British government: to preside over the perceived protection of peoples of African descent in the spirit of the abolitionists. There was, of course, a radical difference in that this conference was undertaken by people of African descent rather than simply on their behalf. The aims and means of the delegates were in complex conversation with British ideas of government, both challenging the British government and aligning with its policies.

For their part, the representatives of the British state at the conference endorsed the appeal of the Pan-Africanists. The Bishop of London encouraged the delegates to speak plainly on the 'points on which they desired white men's aid in working out their own salvation… [And that] they might rest assured of the real and deep sympathy of the English people.'[58] Speeches were made on a variety of topics: from the accomplishments in Liberia and dire conditions in the British West Indies since emancipation to the flaws of scientific racism and improvements in the British West Indies made by the black population despite the challenges they faced.[59] C. W. French of St Kitts, speaking on falling educational opportunities in the island and the lack of enfranchisement, summed up the tone of these speeches: 'under the Queen's rule, men of colour should

[57] Sylvain, cited in Martin, p. 182.
[58] Bishop of London, cited in Sherwood, p. 82.
[59] No minutes from the conference exist but the speeches were widely reported in the press, in particular *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. For a comprehensive list of these speeches, see Sherwood.

have equal position and place with white men.'[60] The delegates advocated that reform should come from within empire.

In critiquing imperialism through reformism (rather than revolution), the delegates at the conference mobilised what could be considered as a 'Western' discourse. According to Ashis Nandy, such a practice was commonplace throughout the British empire, as a means of challenging and exploiting the colonial order:

> Modern colonialism won its great victories not so much through its military and technological prowess as through its ability to create secular hierarchies incompatible with the traditional order. These hierarchies opened up new vistas for many, particularly for those exploited or cornered within the traditional order. To them the new order looked like — and here lay its psychological pull — the first step towards a more just and equal world.[61]

Colonial structures could seem to offer opportunities to the colonised, as they provided an alternative power structure to that of the colonised society. Nandy is not here arguing for the supposed benefits of imperialism so much as analysing the persuasiveness of imperial culture in making the colonial order appear enabling rather than oppressive. He terms this a 'second colonialism' in addition

[60] C. W. French, cited in Sherwood, p. 81.
[61] Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. ix.

to the sheer violence of the first: 'This colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities once and for all… The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds.'[62] Frantz Fanon offers a similar thesis in *Black Skin, White Masks*, arguing that due to the invention of race through colonial contact that situates blackness as a sign of inferiority, 'the black man wants to be white.'[63] One way in which 'black' people attempt to 'whiten' themselves, Fanon argues, is through attempting to adopt the speech (being the vernacular and accent) of the 'white' population. Speaking in the Western language of reformism, the participants at the Pan-African Conference advocated aspects of Western ideology in a bid to challenge imperialism.

Despite the reformist theme, the speeches varied in their content, with some offering a more radical tone. The *Manchester Guardian* quoted Benito Sylvain, the only Haitian to have attended the conference (though he is not recognised as such by the newspaper), as providing a warning to the imperial powers:

> Before a quarter of the new century past away the rights of natives must be entirely acknowledged by every colonial Power. — (Applause.) Natives must no longer be considered like serfs of old times, tenable and workable at their masters' discretion, but as an indispensable element for the prosperity of the colonies; and consequently they must have a tenable

[62] Nandy, p. xi.
[63] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), p. 4.

> participation in the profits, both material and mental, of colonising. — (Hear, hear.) No human power could now stop the African natives in their social and political development. — (Hear, hear.) The question was whether Europe would have this improvement accomplished in her interests or against them.[64]

There is, perhaps, an implicit threat in Sylvain's speech that relates to the dangers of refusing to recognise the rights of African peoples, encouraging them to break away from empire to seek 'development' under independence. Yet there is also a demand to harness and enhance the abilities of the black population by allowing them to share in the profits of empire. Ultimately, for Sylvain, everybody in empire could benefit through the recognition of racial equality, rendering his speech as reformist rather than radical.

In suggesting the equality of races, Sylvain may have been echoing the ideas of the Haitian author Anténor Firmin. In a letter to his compatriot in 1895, Sylvain acknowledged the importance of Firmin's work *The Equality of Races* and commented that racism was based on 'errors which are being passed off as science', and has 'served in centuries past, as a justification for the most revolting of social inequities.'[65] As I argue in Chapter Three, *The Equality of Races* presented a radical challenge to the notions of 'scientific' racial difference that were apparent in both Britain and France by pointing to Haiti as a successful decolonised state. In discussing this argument at the conference, but refusing to

[64] Benito Sylvain, 'The Pan-African Conference', *Manchester Guardian*, 24 July 1900, p. 8.
[65] Syvlain, cited in Martin, p. 73.

suggest the example of Haiti, Sylvain removed the threat of anti-imperial activity, rendering his argument suitable for the theme of the conference.

Sylvain thus presents his argument in a language that was agreeable to colonial authorities. One strategy Sylvain undertook to emphasise the non-threatening nature of his argument was to point to the potential of black people through the examples of 'Toussaint, Frederick Douglass, [and] Alexandre Dumas'. As the discussion above regarding Prichard's comparison between the revolutionaries Dessalines and Louverture demonstrates, Louverture was considered with a particular esteem in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century. In privileging the example of Louverture over that of Dessalines, the Haitian Revolution is represented without the connotations of racial antagonism or violent opposition to empire.

Sylvain's actions beyond the conference suggest that he held a more radical set of ideas. Educated in Europe and of wealthy parents, Sylvain had spent time as an officer in the Haitian Navy.[66] Following Emperor Menelik's (of Abyssinia) victory over Italy in 1896, Sylvain decided to visit him. According to the US consul to Abyssinia, Robert Skinner, Sylvain travelled as a representative of the Haitian Government, 'in order to secure His Majesty's adhesion to a programme for the general amelioration of the negro race. To Mr Sylvain it seemed especially appropriate that the greatest black man in the world should become the honorary president of his projected society.'[67] Menelik commended the project but refused on the grounds that he was, in fact, not 'black'.[68] It seems

[66] Robert Skinner, *The Diplomatic Mission to Abyssinia* (Washington: Marine Corps Historical Reference Series, 1961 (1903)) p. 130.
[67]Skinner, p. 130.
[68] Skinner, p. 131

that Sylvain was keen to court African leaders, who had successfully opposed empire, to forge international cooperation that did not depend on the language of reform. Sylvain thus developed a complex critique of imperialism, at times seizing on its vocabulary to challenge it and at others pursuing notions of independence. Emmanuelle Sibeud argues that while Sylvain believed in the European notion of the 'civilising mission', and in the European colonisation of areas of Africa, '[h]e subscribes to a black separatism, the Pan-African idea, a provisional restoration of a universalism that had been amputated by the colonial ideologies of their natural expansion to the black population.'[69] Sylvain thus joined in with the many colonised subjects described by Nandy in making claims against empire by speaking in an imperial language. In this case Nandy's 'second colonialism' continued to operate in the post-colonial setting.

A year after the conference, Sylvain provided a critique of colonialism in a language that was not only understandable to colonial authorities but also was authoritative as he published it as PhD thesis. In his doctorate, published in Paris in 1901, Sylvain continued to warn of the dangers of imperialism, emphasising the possibility of revolution. In the French, rather than British, context Sylvain may have deemed it appropriate to draw on a language of revolution to incite reform. Speaking to a separate imperial authority, Sylvain adapted his language of claim-making. The threat of revolution was not necessarily agreeable to French authorities but it may well have been acknowledged as a more

[69] Emmanuelle Sibeud, '"Comment peut-on être noir?" Le parcours d'un intellectuel haïtien à la fin de XIXe siècle', *Cyber Review of Modern Historiography* <http://www.fupress.net/index.php/cromohs/article/view/15622/14489> [accessed 16/5/2016). My translation. Original in French: 'Il adhère un séparatisme noir, l'idée panafricaine, provisoire restaurer un universalisme amputé par les idéologies coloniales de son extension naturelle aux populations de race noire.'

historically legitimate form of claim making due to the importance of the French Revolution in its project of Republican nation building. As well as pointing to the more recent example of the Cuban War of Independence (1895–98), Sylvain details the Haitian Revolution as a warning from history. At the outset of the Revolution, Sylvain writes, the colonists had 'not yet recovered from their surprise when cries of terror and death echoed through the island. It was too late: the hour of vengeance had struck; such vengeance was terrible.'[70] Sylvain does not cite the threat of Dessalines in his thesis. Rather, he emphasises the threat provided by the broader Haitian population: 'The elderly, men, women and children, the entire indigenous population this time stood all together, trembling with rage and indignation. Enthusiasm inspires the sacrifice of all: *freedom or death!* is the motto of everyone.'[71]

There appears to be a suggestion in Sylvain's thesis that many of the participants in the Haitian Revolution advocated, and fought for, universal emancipation. Considering the importance of the idea of universal rights in the French Revolution, Sylvain may have been suggesting a link between the Haitian and French Revolutions. These two struggles then become dual precedents, acting as warnings of what may happen in the colonies should a lack of colonial reform take place. In comparison to the speech he gave at the conference, Sylvain's thesis was perhaps more appropriately radical not only due to a

[70] Benito Sylvain, 'Étude Historique Sur Le Sort Des Indigènes Dans Les Colonies D'exploitation', (Paris, 1901), p. 85. My translation. Original in French: qui ne revinrent de leur surprise que lorsque des cris de terreur et de mort retentirent dans l'ile. Il était trop tard : l'heure de la vengeance avait sonné ; cette vengeance fût terrible.

[71] Sylvain, p. 138. My translation. Original in French: Vieillards, hommes, femmes et enfants, la population indigène tout entière, cette fois, est debout, frémissant de colère et d'indignation. L'enthousiasme inspire le sacrifice de tout : *la liberté ou la mort !* telle est la devise de chacun.

national context but also due to the fact that it was formulated in a relatively safe environment. Being written within the academy, the thesis was not necessarily a direct appeal to the national government, but could be considered as a more abstract work of philosophy, despite its political connotations. As a process of study, a thesis also endows the author with a certain expertise. In this context, Sylvain's arguments may have been perceived as necessarily legitimate, facilitating stronger, and yet less threatening, assertions in regards to his subject.

In the very different environment of a public conference taking place within the walls of the Palace of Westminster, the same language of revolution and universal rights may have caused an anxiety amongst the British elite. The British government at this time, along with the British intellectual elite, were as Duncan Bell argues, particularly concerned about the universal implications of expanding democracy. Although only forty per-cent of men (and no women) were enfranchised, there was a growing campaign for suffrage at this time, and many of this elite worried that the beginning of the twentieth century signalled the 'age of democracy' and social anarchy: 'at worst, it was feared, the very institutions and beliefs that had made Britain great would be dissolved. It was often claimed that the finely tuned and delicate engine of the British constitution had prevented a descent into chaos.'[72] The notion of broadening democracy, never mind making it universal, in the British context had radical implications: political elites perceived that Britain was 'plagued by an ever expanding mass of wretched humanity from within the ranks of which severe disquiet (and, in the

[72] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 41.

very worst case, revolution) might grow.'[73] Granting universal civil rights threatened to dismantle the established political order. In the British context, the Haitian Revolution, with its implications of universalism, may have threatened to suggest more than violent racial conflict, but also an excess of democracy that threatened the insitutionalism of the British government. At the Pan-African Conference, this threat remained marginal, indeed, spectral as its delegates refused to enter a discussion of the universalism of Haitian history.

In no other speeches than that of Sylvain during the conference was Haiti mentioned. Nevertheless, in the outcome of the conference, both Emperor Menelik and the President of Haiti were made honorary members of the newly formed Pan-African Association. In an example of the power of Haiti for suggesting opposition to empire in the context of the conference, this seemingly small gesture drew heavy criticism from at least one commentator in print. William Thomas Stead, the ardent social reformer, wrote in the *Review of Reviews*:

> The cunning white man is ever ready to sell his coloured brother as many guns as he can pay for. The coloured man has bought. He is buying, and he will continue to buy. And he wonders whether, now that he has got the white man's gun, he may not be able to dispute the white man's place… And now here in London, in this scorching African weather, a Pan-African Conference has been formed, with Bishop Walters as President and the

[73] Bell, p. 47.

> Emperor Menelik and the President of Hayti as Honorary Members, which is to press… for a recognition of the rights of the blacks.[74]

Neither the Emperor nor the President were present at the conference, but their being Honorary Members, along with a hypothetically enlarged arsenal, was enough to suggest to Stead that an organised and violent resistance to empire was taking place. In such a fragile and sensitive climate, the spectre of a contemporary Haiti brought on a troubling anxiety in the minds of British onlookers regarding a supposed anti-imperialism.

Conclusion

The previous chapters in this thesis demonstrate that Haiti was emphasised in Britain as indicating a violent opposition to empire and was used to argue against the independence, or political enfranchisement, of African populations. In this chapter I have again shown the meaning of Haiti as threatening in the British imagination. As a consequence of these ideas about Haiti, the colonised subjects at the Pan-African Conference could not mobilise the example of Haiti without suggesting an anti-imperialism. The silencing, in the form of the spectre, that took place at the conference was thus radically different to the types of silencing discussed elsewhere in the thesis. Rather than a denial or rejection of Haitian history, the powerful relevance of Haiti had to be avoided. The different practices of silencing illustrated in this thesis are, however, related. Ideas about Haiti in the British imagination were devoid of knowledge offered by Haitians, or the

[74] William Thomas Stead, 'The Topic of the Month: The Revolt Against the Paleface', *Review of Reviews*, August 1900, p. 131.

universalist aspects of Haitian history, and instead suggested an ideological and material opposition to the West. As this version of Haiti, that had already been subject to processes of silencing, was predominant in the imperial imagination, discussion of Haiti was avoided at the conference.

The year 1904 reminded Haitians of the importance of their national sovereignty as suggesting a victory over their European colonial adversaries. A certain Dessalinean version of the Haitian Revolution was emphasised in Haiti, much to the concern of British observers. In the centenary, the Atlantic World was forcefully reminded of Haiti's anti-imperial politics. The spectre of Haiti at the Pan-African Conference was thus not simply a revenant, a warning from the past, but related to Haiti's ongoing project of decolonisation; it combined elements of a supposed Dessalinean Revolution with perceptions of a 'failed' black government. It was not spectral because Haiti was lacking in significance but, as ever with the spectre, it had an excess of meaning. Haiti was too powerful a symbol of black liberation and decolonisation to be fully present at the conference.

Conclusion

This thesis has illustrated the way in which Haiti was (mis)represented in British imperial cultures in the Victorian period. The significance of Haiti shifted between historical and discursive contexts as it was instrumentalised to support various aspects of imperial rule, from imperial rivalries (see Chapter One), to types of colonial administration (see Chapters Two, Three, and Five), to the mechanisms of imperialism (see Chapters Three, Four, and Five). Accompanying these shifts was a degree of consistency in the way that Haiti was thought about in the imperial imagination throughout this period as the 'Black Republic' acted as a warning against the political empowerment of African descent.

The ideas about Haiti examined here did not exist in isolation from one another. I have tracked the way in which ideas were communicated not only within the historical contexts analysed but also between them. The anthropologist, Spenser St John was stationed in Haiti during the Morant Bay Rebellion (Chapter Two) and subsequently developed the concept of Haitian decadence (Chapter Three). Like many other members of the anthropological societies, he combined a new assessment of Haiti with older practices of denigration. In turn, St John's versions of Haiti reached a broad and, in terms of class and nationality, heterogeneous audience. Travellers, colonial administrators, the popular press (Chapter Three), and authors of fiction (Chapter Four), engaged with St John's ideas and redeployed them in radically different ways. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there was little ambiguity in the British imagination regarding the reputation of the 'Black Republic': it was overwhelmingly perceived as an example of the failure of

people of African descent in government, and as evidence for the need to extend British imperialism. Such was the dominance of this view that the delegates at the Pan-African Conference (Chapter Five) could not mobilise Haiti as an example of statehood without risking accusations of sedition. This thesis considers various case studies but, by establishing the links between the historical moments, it also demonstrates the evolution of notions about Haiti across this time period. Ideas about Haiti both repeated and changed as preconceptions, and established knowledge, about Haiti were deployed in new socio-political contexts.

To better understand the way in which ideas about Haiti were constructed, I develop Edward Said's travelling theory. I illustrate that Said's notion of travelling theory (as discussed in the Introduction) can be applied to intellectual and discursive contexts in the Victorian period. My use of the notion of travel differs from that of Said as I examine the direct and indirect communication between people but Said's question of what happens to the strength of an idea as it travels between contexts remains my central concern. The cases that I focus on each provide an example in which Haiti had a particularly powerful resonance: from a critique of French imperialism (Chapter One) to a terrifying warning of racial massacre in the Caribbean colonies (Chapter Two) to a potent symbol of anti-imperialism (Chapter Five). As these ideas travelled, the representation of Haiti may have evolved, but the strength of Haiti's significance also vacillated between these contexts.

To further interrogate the specific ways in which ideas about Haiti travelled, I deploy Darnton's notions of the communication circuit and the communication network. I develop the notion of the communication circuit by

illustrating that it can be applied to texts and audiences across radically different contexts of readership. As the book *Hayti or the Black Republic* moved between readers in the British elite and popular classes, the Caribbean and US contexts, its ideas travelled in the sense that St John lost control of their meaning and the strength of their significance. As opposed to Said's travelling theory, which is concerned with what happens to an idea as it is separated from its author by historical context, what is significant about the communication circuit, in the examples that I examine, is that St John is able to reclaim and reassert his supposed significance of Haiti. An analysis of the communication circuit of *Hayti or the Black Republic*, then, provides an insight into the way in which ideas about Haiti were controlled by certain key individuals in Britain in the Victorian period. This argument is emphasised in a study of the related concept of the communication network. In Chapter Two, I demonstrate the importance of 'experts' in discerning and disseminating the meaning of Haiti. These groups passed information to one another, and into broader British society, to the exclusion of any recognition of Haitian knowledge and experience. Not only does an examination of the communication circuit, and network, reveal the different significances of the ideas and how they were strengthened and weakened between contexts, but also the extent to which certain people were included and excluded from defining Haiti.

Whether through fiction, newspaper reports, or consular correspondence, knowledge about Haiti was constructed in different ways. In the resultant representations of Haiti, I find that knowledge and experience offered by Haitians, as well as Haitian history, were consistently silenced. Developing and expanding Trouillot's thesis, I nuance and complicate our understanding of the

processes of silencing in the British context. These silences varied in relation to the construction of each representation. Chapter One, for instance, details the demands of Haitian officials to be recognised as a legitimate, and capable, nation state. Such claims were ignored in the British press, and were interpreted to suit the British domestic concern of critiquing French forms of government and empire. This process of silencing is very different to that discussed in Chapter Two in which Haitian history is deployed as evidence by anthropologists that people of African descent were inherently violent towards the 'white' population. The notion that Haitian history could suggest a racial equality, as was mentioned at one meeting of anthropologists, was rejected. Despite the different mechanics in the processes of silencing they, much like ideas about Haiti, at times related to one another. The spectre of Haiti at the Pan-African Conference provides the clearest example of one process of silencing conditioning another. Any notion that Haiti provided an example of capable 'black government' had been so thoroughly rejected by the British government, as part of a broader campaign of denigration (aided by travel literature, and joined by the British press), that the delegates at the Conference could not mobilise the example of Haiti in their speeches. The spectrality of Haiti was a radically different form of silencing.

I have illustrated that acts of silencing in the British context have been the result of specific anxieties regarding the British imperial project. For example, in 1865 Haiti was analysed to generate an understanding of the conflict at Morant Bay. Some nineteen years later, in St John's travel narrative, the 'Black Republic' was presented as a test case for the consequences of 'post-colonial' government by people of African descent. Haiti's political and diplomatic condition was consistently understood in its relation to colonialism, meaning that it continued

to remind British imperialists of the threat of the 'post-colonial' condition. The notion that Haitian independence could suggest a racial equality was thus silenced and replaced by attacks against the quality of its 'black' government, St John's notion of 'decadence', or the idea of Haiti's supposedly antagonistic character and radical isolationism.

Broadly speaking, the argument that Haitian history involved a continuous project of decolonisation is not new: David Nicholls argues in 'Post-Colonial Politics: the Haitian Experience', that Haiti could not, even in the twentieth century, be considered fully post-colonial as a result of its continued subjugation to foreign powers:

> The study of Haitian history will convince us that it is not possible to unravel the elaborate web of colonialism thread by thread, nor is it possible to destroy the whole fabric by an appeal to violence… It is not possible for a country to start afresh as though the past has never been; decolonisation is strictly speaking impossible.[1]

The process of decolonisation in Haiti was not achieved simply with its Revolution and Declaration of Independence in 1804. This thesis demonstrates that Haiti's fight to be recognised as a nation state, which should not be subject

[1] David Nicholls, 'Post-Colonial Politics: the Haitian Experience' (unpublished, available at the Alma Jordan Library, St Augustine Campus, University of the West Indies, 1972). In a more recent review article, Raphael Dalleo (2004) supports this view by querying whether the notion of postcolonialism has been appropriately applied to Haiti and the Caribbean, considering the perspective of people in the Caribbean: 'most Caribbean critics and writers tend to be sceptical of any vision of the contemporary period that sees it as a break from colonialism.' (p. 131). See Raphael Dalleo, 'Emplotting Postcoloniality: Usable Pasts, Possible Futures, and the Relentless Present', *Diaspora*, 13, 1 (2004), 129–40.

to imperialism or the threat of invasion, continued throughout the nineteenth century. In response, such claims were silenced in Britain and Haiti was instead represented as a place that lacked the 'civilisation' required to qualify as a nation.

This thesis is limited to a discussion of events between 1847 and 1904. Further research could be carried out on the way in which ideas about Haiti have repeated and changed over the course of the twentieth century. Developing the case study approach adopted for this thesis, it would be possible to analyse a range of events and source material. The way in which the US occupation of Haiti (1915–34) was reported and critiqued in Britain may offer particularly compelling insights into Atlantic politics. This occupation took place during a power shift in the Atlantic in which the US rose to a position of dominance. Such an examination would allow us to perceive whether it was deemed appropriate that the 'Black Republic' be re-colonised in a context of imperial rivalry. A related line of questioning may consider the response of the newly formed League of Nations as Haitians demanded their right to self-determination. Throughout the 1930s there was a small explosion of interest in Haiti, in the form of films such as *White Zombie* (1932), and *The Emperor Jones* (1933). And, in 1938, the Marxist CLR James published the work *The Black Jacobins*, producing perhaps the most influential work on Haiti in the 'West'. Although a significant amount of research has been undertaken on James, the way in which this work was received in the British context is yet to be studied in detail.[2]

[2] See *The Black Jacobins Reader*, ed. by Charles Forsdick and Christian Høgsbjerg (London: Duke University Press, 2016).

A notable example of a potential case studies in the later twentieth century includes an examination of Graham Greene's novel *The Comedians* (1966). François Duvalier offered a response to this work, and the novel was adapted to film. In the early twenty-first century, the representation of Haiti was notable by its general absence at the 2007 Commemorations for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. A few examples where Haiti was represented, such as the *Freedom!* sculpture at the International Slavery Museum, Liverpool.[3] Furthering an analysis of ideas about Haiti in the British imagination in the twentieth, and twenty-first, century would help us to historicise and better understand more recent conceptions of Haiti. The urgency of this research is succinctly, and powerfully, highlighted by Gina Ulysse:

> the representations of Haiti that dominated the airwaves in the aftermath of the January 12 [2010] earthquake could virtually be traced back to those popular in the nineteenth century, especially after the Haitian Revolution… Understanding the continuities of these narratives and their meaning matters now more than ever. The day when Haitians as a people, and Haiti as a symbol, are no longer representatives of or synonymous with poverty, backwardness, and evil is yet to come.[4]

A further limitation of this thesis, and an area that could usefully be explored, is the lack of recovery of the Haitian voice. Although I do, at times,

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[3] See Wendy Asquith, 'Expectations of Catastrophe: Mario Benjamin, Commissions and Countercontext', *Small Axe*, 42 (2013), 227–43.
[4] Gina Athena Ulysse, *Why Haiti Needs News Narratives: A Post-Quake Chronicle* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2015), pp. 26–27.

examine statements made by Haitians in order to interrogate the response of people in Britain, I do not provide a detailed, or extensive, analysis of the way in which Haitians projected their ideas, or responded to critics in the 'West', on the Atlantic stage.[5] The lack of engagement with this important question is due to the focus on this thesis on the British imagination. In drawing on the theories and concepts outlined above, and by exploring the intersection between them it is possible to discern not only what was said and thought about Haiti in Britain, but also how it was thought about, in which discussions Haiti was and was not appropriate and how there were a variety of reactions to the 'Black Republic'. Maintaining this focus on Haiti is revealing of the way in which potential threats were made safe in the British imperial imagination. Engagement with Haiti could have undermined the perceived necessity of British imperial government, especially in relation to 'black populations'. Instead, it was represented to support the need for centralised, powerful, British imperial rule.

[5] Karen Salt (University of Aberdeen) has recently begun to work on this question.

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